

AN INTRODUCTION TO

Education in Modern America

REVISED

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GORDON C. SLEE
POMONA COLLEGE

REVISED EDITION

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For
MARSHALL

AN OLD MAN'S THOUGHT OF SCHOOL

WALT WHITMAN

[*For the Inauguration of a Public School, Camden, New Jersey, 1874*]

An old man's thought of school,
An old man gathering youthful memories and blooms that youth itself
cannot

Now only do I know you,
O fair auroral skies—O morning dew upon the grass!

And these I see, these sparkling eyes,
These stores of mystic meaning, these young lives,
Building, equipping like a fleet of ships, immortal ships,
Soon to sail out over the measureless seas,
On the soul's voyage

Only a lot of boys and girls?
Only the tiresome spelling, writing, ciphering classes?
Only a public school?

Ah more, infinitely more,
(As George Fox rais'd his warning cry "Is it this pile of brick and mortar,
these dead floors, windows, rails, you call the church?
Why this is not the church at all—the church is living, ever living souls")

And you America,
Cast you the real reckoning for your present?
The lights and shadows of your future, good or evil?
To girlhood, boyhood look, the teacher and the school

(Walt Whitman *Leaves of Grass* as reproduced in Louis Untermeyer (ed.), *The Poetry and Prose of Walt Whitman* New York: Simon & Schuster, 1949, 370 l)

Preface to Revised Edition

THIS SECOND EDITION of *An Introduction to Education in Modern America* may seem to some to follow its predecessor much too closely, but seldom can events have more quickly required that an earlier presentation be brought up to date. Education, schools, curricula, teachers—these are all in large part reflections or projections of the values a culture honors, and as circumstances force changes in position or interpretation, the educational process must adjust to the new situations. This is a truism—yet the years since this book was first published have brought changes of the greatest significance to American education. This revision, then, is an attempt, while retaining the framework and most of the substance of the original, to record and take some account of such developments as the Supreme Court's decision of May 17, 1954, on racial segregation in schools, the White House Conference on Education, the program of the Eisenhower administration for federal assistance to education, and recent important commentaries on various critical educational issues, among them *The Restoration of Learning*, by Arthur E. Bestor (New York, Knopf, 1955), *The New Era in Education, a Comparative Study*, by I. L. Kandel (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1955), *Towards a Reconstructed Philosophy of Education*, by Theodore Brameld (New York, Dryden, 1956), and *Education and Liberty: the Role of the Schools in a Modern Democracy* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1953). Developments like these serve well to dramatize the underlying conviction of this book—that the study of education must be engaged in and carried on by all, teachers and non teachers alike, who would be fully responsible citizens in a democratic society.

G. C. L.

Claremont, California
March 1957

Foreword

OF RECENT YEARS the study of education as a social institution has increasingly been recognized as an important, indeed a vital, part of collegiate general education. Just as government, economics, and in some places religion have been presented as basic elements in the understanding of cultures, so now education, certainly not the least of these, is emerging as one of the essential areas with which the educated man should be familiar. This book is offered out of the belief that there is need for a systematic introductory overview of the American educational endeavor presented in the context of the contemporary world scene.

It is felt that such a presentation can serve two functions which are inseparably linked but which are all too frequently regarded as distinct. This book attempts, in the first place, to offer a survey of American education which will be of service to the student who is contemplating a career in professional education. It seems clear that, without some understanding of the total educational enterprise, no one is adequately equipped to take his place in that enterprise. In the second place, and perhaps in long range terms even more important, there is great and increasing need that our adult citizenry be educated about education. Again, we expect, or at least hope, that our college graduates will have some competence, some literacy with regard to the conduct of government and the operation of the economy. Is it any less vital that we build some understanding of and appreciation for the educational system we provide for our children? This book is also aimed at the student who is *not* anticipating a teaching career in the conviction that the enlistment of his interest and support is crucial if continued educational advance is to be realized. It may be contended by some that these purposes would better be served by enrolling the two groups separately and providing them with materials with somewhat different emphases.

It is the author's firm belief that mutual benefit will accrue to an experience shared by those who expect to teach and those who will look to the teachers for service. The kind of real functioning understanding of educational problems which is needed today can only emerge from an interchange between the two.

Two aspects of the make up of the book may require a special word of explanation. Each chapter is accompanied by a set of "Questions for Study and Discussion." These questions are not intended primarily as vehicles for reviewing the contents of the text. Rather they are meant to serve as points of departure for study beyond the textbook, as possible subjects for extended class discussion or special investigation by individuals or committees. It is hoped that their use in this fashion will promote both examination of the implications which underlie our most crucial educational problems and consideration of the multitude of policies which are daily proposed as answers to those problems. To aid in this sort of investigation, and to supplement the text, lists of supplementary references are appended to each chapter. Again, these are intended to probe more deeply and extensively into the issues raised as well as to supply additional information. The readings have been selected with a view to providing a broader cultural and historical perspective within which to study American education. It will be noted that certain of these lists are quite short. This is attributable to the relative newness of certain fields which are increasingly coming to be recognized as of major significance for the conduct of education. In these areas intensive study has only just begun.

A glance at the table of contents will indicate both the rashness of the author in attempting to deal with so much and his inadequacy in failing to account for much of importance. One can perhaps hope that such a course as this book envisions will be followed, particularly by the prospective teacher, with systematic studies of the history and philosophy of education, of educational psychology and the field of measurement, of comparative education and educational administration, to say nothing of economics, political science, cultural anthropology, and the arts. Only thus can a truly liberal body of teachers, backed by an equally enlightened citizenry, be produced.

I cannot close this introduction without expressing my gratitude and

my obligation to Professor R. Freeman Butts of Teachers College, Columbia University. Not only was I privileged to study and work with him as a graduate student, I was also honored to become his friend. It was at his suggestion that this work was undertaken, his advice and counsel have guided its progress, his careful reading of the manuscript has contributed immeasurably to whatever merit this book can claim. I wish also to acknowledge my indebtedness to a long series of inspiring teachers and to my students in Education at Pomona College. Finally, I wish to pay tribute to my wife, whose patience, encouragement, unfailing good humor, and incisive criticism have meant more than words can convey

G C L

Claremont, California

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General References

The following books are suggested as valuable supplementary works of a general nature, providing supporting material for most of the subjects discussed in this volume

Brubacher, John S., *A History of the Problems of Education*, New York, McGraw Hill 1947

An inclusive survey of the history of Western education, organized to show the development of specific aspects or problems of contemporary education

Butts, R. Freeman, and Cremin, Lawrence A., *A History of Education in American Culture* New York, Holt, 1953

A detailed chronological account of the growth of American educational traditions and practices, presented in a continuing context of political, social, economic, intellectual and religious developments

Chamberlain, Leo M., and Kindred, Leslie W., *The Teacher and School Organization* New York, Prentice Hall 1949

A descriptive analysis of the teacher's responsibilities and his position in the over all school endeavor, including discussion of both the details of classroom responsibility and the outlines of principles of school administration

Counts, George S., *Education and American Civilization* New York, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College Columbia University, 1952

An analysis of contemporary American culture with emphasis on the philosophic, socio-economic, and political developments which have shaped our traditions and institutions. A proposal for the future design of the American school as it faces the challenge of twentieth-century totalitarianism

DeYoung, Chris A., *Introduction to American Public Education* New York, McGraw Hill, 1955

A detailed description of the major elements and activities comprising the modern public school system in the United States

Edwards, Newton, and Richey, Herman G., *The School in the American Social Order*, Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1947

The history, in the context of economic and political developments, of American education. Detailed attention is given to the sociological

- changes in American culture which have affected the conduct of education in the United States
- Elsbree, Willard S, *The American Teacher*, New York, American Book, 1939
- The position of the teacher, historically and currently, in American culture, as seen through an examination of the development of such elements as teaching techniques and materials, conditions of work, teacher education, and social status
- Rugg, Harold, *Foundations for American Education*, Yonkers-on Hudson, World Book, 1947
- An overview of the first half of the twentieth century to highlight the developments in the fields of psychology, the social sciences, esthetics, and ethics which have significance for the future course of American education.
- Stanley, William O, Smith, B Othanel, Benne, Kenneth D, and Anderson, Archibald W, *Social Foundations of Education*, New York, Dryden Press, 1956
- An extensive and skillfully edited collection of readings designed to relate the school and its problems to the broad socio-cultural context within which it functions
- Teachers College, Columbia University, Division of Foundations of Education, *Readings in the Foundations of Education* New York, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1941, 2 vols
- Bureau of Publications, Columbia University, 1941, 2 vols
- A collection of salient readings in the several educational foundations areas history, economics, sociology, politics, physical science, the arts, religion philosophy, and psychology, plus key statements in the fields of curriculum and educational administration

PART *one*

THE NATURE
OF
AMERICAN SOCIETY

An eminent philosopher once observed that philosophy is essentially reflection on social ideals while education is the effort to realize those ideals in the common life. It is undeniable that societies in all ages and stages of development have attempted to organize their institutions with definite ends in view, with deliberate intent to achieve certain results and prevent others. It follows that any attempt to discover the broad, general principles upon which an educational system is based, as well as its more intricate technical methods of operation, must necessarily emerge from an awareness and understanding of the society which established and maintains that system. The study of education cannot proceed at all until some contact is made with the people themselves, with their history and traditions, their fundamental aims and commitments, and their particular place in the contemporary world.

This book begins with an introductory examination of American society. Obviously, we are here dealing with the materials and subject matter of a score of other academic departments—history, economics, political science, and sociology, to name but a few. No claim to even the beginnings of an adequate treatment of those areas is here implied. It is significant that the study of an important social institution in American life—education—cannot meaningfully advance without such a base.

Main Currents in the American Heritage

TO UNDERSTAND the essential elements of an educational enterprise and the problems it faces, some attention must be paid to the ideals which are the schools' primary *raison d'être*. But these central moral commitments can themselves most clearly be identified in the context of the history which bore them and the way of life in which they find expression. In this spirit, this opening chapter ventures to extract from American history seven basic trends which signalize our distinctive cultural inheritance. In brief, and with a quick preliminary look at their meaning for educational development in the United States, we consider the currents of change from east to west, from rural agrarianism to urban industrialism, from rugged individualism to interdependence, from federation to union, from limited to general suffrage and from indirect to direct representation, from Old World to New World, and from isolationism to internationalism. The chapter which follows attempts a brief description of certain aspects of life in the United States in mid-century, while the third chapter sets forth a conception of the fundamental convictions which govern American life, the social ideals which power the American educational endeavor. The section concludes with a consideration of the inescapable world role which the United States has assumed and some of the implications of this phenomenon for American education.

East to West

Probably for no people in human history has the phenomenon of migration been as significant as for the inhabitants of the North American continent. The arrival of colonists and settlers in the seven-teenth century on the Atlantic seaboard, fringe of a continent which the anthropologists tell us then held perhaps three million "Indians," was a circumstance both unprecedented and unique. The North American pioneer was confronted with an expanse of almost totally unpopulated territory, a condition which, for nearly three hundred years, shaped and directed his destiny. And not only was this empty continent vast to an extent hitherto undreamed of by man, it was rich! One of the world's greatest river systems, fertile plains seemingly endless, mountains lush with timber and heavy with vital ores, these were magnetic attractions which man was powerless to resist. No wonder that, as ever more thousands left Europe for the American shore, increasing numbers felt the urge to "go West" and conquer new lands. Frederick J. Turner memorialized this basic thread in American history with his monumental studies of the frontier. From 1607 until the end of the nineteenth century, the American was never without a frontier, a new land farther on. Turner figuratively stationed himself on the crest of the Alleghenies and watched wave after wave of men and women move west—George Washington to the valley of the Ohio, Daniel Boone to Kentucky, Lewis and Clark to the Oregon shore, Zebulon Pike and Brigham Young and Fred Harvey to the great Southwest, a never-ending stream. The presence of such a frontier for nearly three centuries profoundly shaped the American character.

And where do we see its impact? In the deep sense of optimism and self-confidence that has always been an American trait. In the continuing belief in America as indeed a "land of opportunity." In the fact that the United States is a panorama of distinctly, delightfully divergent kinds of regions and communities, settled by French, Germans, Spanish, Swedes, Yankees, Virginians, Iowans, and many more. And in the continuing, growing tendency of the American to move and migrate, to pull up stakes in one section and re-establish himself in another. The public common school (the "palladium of popular

liberties" was Daniel Webster's eulogistic phrase) has meant all these things to the great majority of Americans for almost one hundred and fifty years. Probably no single institution has so clearly reflected the pioneer spirit of optimism, mutual respect, individualism, and ambition. It would indeed be difficult to overestimate the degree to which the uniqueness of American history is the product of this remarkable phenomenon—the frontier.

Rural-Agrarianism to Urban-Industrialism

The original migrants to North America came as farmers. While many left Europe for reasons of political or religious persecution, others as punishment for crimes committed or alleged, and still others in search of quick wealth or adventure, nearly all saw their future in the colonies in agricultural terms. Throughout the colonial period and on into the first half century of our national existence, the agrarian interest loomed largest in the minds of the people generally. Thomas Jefferson, for example, envisioned the newborn United States as the ideal home for democratic institutions simply because he believed that an agrarian society afforded the most favorable conditions for the growth of democracy.

Yet, almost from the outset, this country took on a character of economic diversity. While census data indicate that it was not until the early 1900s that the population of the United States became predominantly urban, the seeds of that urbanization were planted very early. And urbanization, of course, is the antithesis of the agrarian economy visualized by the early colonists and Mr. Jefferson. The colonial period itself saw the first signs of this change. Note, for example, the beginnings of trade and commerce around such centers as Boston, New York, Salem, and Charleston, or the establishment of textile mills on the New England fall line, the appearance of iron foundries in Virginia and shipbuilding yards along the seaboard. Inevitable process produced towns, and towns attracted industries—so the

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Many of the immigrants, of course, continued to seek after the agrarian way of life and to move from the Atlantic seaboard to the great Mississippi valley or beyond—hence, the farming communities of Scandinavians in Minnesota and Wisconsin, or Swiss and Italians in California. But more and more, European immigrants were attracted by the prospects of work in burgeoning American industry and were drawn to settle in the fast growing towns or lusty young cities—the Slovaks in Pittsburgh, the Poles in Chicago, and the Germans in St. Louis.

The role of the American school in this transition grew more central. In the mid-seventeenth century the needs of a changed economy forced the schools to redirect their emphasis along more practical lines. In the nineteenth century the urge to "Americanize" the immigrants meant that the common school stood as the primary agency of cultural assimilation. As regional loyalties intensified and industrial diversification increased, it was the common school which provided the bases for a unified national consciousness.

Urbanization and industrialism, the two are inseparable and both have been central features in the development of the United States. In their wake have come tremendous social problems and vast social benefit. Agriculture, increasingly industrialized, is confronted with many of the human and social problems which have been the accompaniments of industrialization and urbanization. Crowded unhealthy slums, rural as well as urban, the increasing mechanization and depersonalization of labor, the disappearance of a man's status as a 'free agent'—these are but a few of the many problems of human existence in an urban industrial society. But there have been great benefits as well. Cosmopolitanism—the association, mingling, and cultural cross fertilization of many nationalities and races—surely this is one of the sources of America's strength and energy, something that could not have developed very markedly in an agrarian society. And with industrial advance have come great improvements in the material conditions of labor. Wages, sanitary and safety conditions, and the relations of labor with management have all advanced. Perhaps even more important are the great reductions in the hours of labor, with the obvious, and educationally significant, corollary of vastly increased

leisure time Most far reaching of all these benefits is the steadily rising standard of living, consistently higher for more and more of our people The entire culture of the United States is affected by and reflects the influence of this central fact, and American education is no exception Thus, as many have noted, perhaps the chief problem for the United States in the mid twentieth century is that of retaining and expanding the benefits of urban industrialism while reducing and eliminating its evils In the resolution of such a problem, education has no small part to play

"Rugged Individualism" to Interdependence

The Constitution of the United States guarantees to every citizen the right, among others, to bear arms This guarantee, conceived and promulgated at a time when each individual had no choice but to assume such a responsibility for his own protection, has never been officially repealed But it has long since ceased to be operative in fact, and few would wish to reinstate such a provision in its original character Perhaps this fact can serve as an illustration of what has happened to the status of the individual American in his relation to the total society

The colonial immigrant, or the colonist moving, say, from Virginia to Kentucky or from Connecticut to Ohio, was of necessity an individualist At a time when a distance of fifty miles was the equivalent in travel time of perhaps three thousand miles today, a time when the very act of migrating from one section to the other was usually a deliberate removal of oneself from close social contact, it could hardly have been otherwise Of course, there were migrations and settlements by groups of all sizes but the groups themselves were individualistic in nature It is understandable that the drafters of the Bill of Rights deemed it essential that every man have the right to protect himself, his family, and his property

But even here, the strange paradox that is America is apparent For this rugged individualism of the early years of our history was accompanied by a strong spirit of cooperation which the frontier, far from effacing or restricting, tended to enhance and invigorate This

spirit is perhaps nowhere more evident than in the early American custom of cooperative house raising. Here the members of a frontier community would join together to build the houses for their several families, and new arrivals would be welcomed by the earlier settlers with willing assistance in building their homes. Throughout our history this element in the American nature has been prominent, to the extent that one is perhaps justified in concluding that "cooperative individualism" is a genuine American trait.

But the factors of increased urbanization and industrialization already noted and the necessarily growing power of national government for an expanding nation resulted in the development of a spirit of interdependence as well. Inevitably, it grew more apparent that no part of the nation and no phase of the increasingly industrial economy could live alone. The same relentless logic drove all groups to become more dependent in turn on their common agency for assistance and protection—the government. Social and economic circumstance forced such individuals to join in demanding that their government do for them that which they could not do for themselves but was essential for their very lives. It was out of such pressures that the American *public* school system was conceived and molded. Individual, private, charitable, or philanthropic educational devices had proved altogether inadequate to the needs of a growing democratic society. Out of such demands, too, came the 'internal improvements,' canals, turnpikes, improved river channels, and subsidies for the building of railroads. These measures were specifically designed to benefit merchants, farmers, lumbermen, miners, or distillers. Their ultimate effect was to tie all such interests closer together and make them ever more interdependent.

And today the fact that the United States is an interdependent society is altogether too well known to require elaboration. Pay or price rises in the steel industry, a strike of teamsters or even elevator operators in a large metropolitan city, a drought in one section or a flood elsewhere—these are no longer local occurrences with purely local repercussions. They have national, indeed at times international, impact. Another central problem for our time is that of holding onto the virtues of the traditional spirit of independence and individualism within the

Federation to Union

context of social and economic conditions which require cooperative effort and an acceptance of interdependence. Here, too, the American school has a fundamental responsibility.

Federation to Union

The United States of America began as a federation, not a union. Its subsequent history has been, in large measure, a history of progress from federation to union, and many would argue that the process is still far from completed. In 1781 thirteen independent sovereignties banded together for their mutual protection and benefit, but dominant power and authority remained, under the Articles of Confederation, with the thirteen member states. In 1791 the adoption of the United States Constitution signaled widespread recognition that for any such organization to be effective a larger measure of authority had to rest in a central government. The first half of the nineteenth century in the United States was dominated by the struggle to define and delimit the spheres of that sovereignty as between the central government and the states. Seventy years after the adoption of the Constitution, a war of then unprecedented proportions had to be fought to establish the principle that the national government, in those areas where national welfare was involved, must be supreme.

Not only has this history been one of competition for power between state and central governments, but it has also been a history of a struggle for what might be called regional integrity and sectional interest. The nineteenth century, before and after the Civil War, was featured by the competing and conflicting interests of an industrial Northeast, an agricultural South, and a somewhat heterogeneous but preponderantly agrarian West. The problem of union was both political and economic. States' rights—the rallying cry for those who interpreted the Constitution as having established a limited federation rather than a strong central authority—was early and inevitably coupled with the interests of those states which saw in strong national government a threat to their economies.

Steadily, however, the trend has been toward increasing union, nationalization, and centralization. The Constitution itself originally

prescribed those areas which, even in 1789, were clearly appropriate to central authority John Marshall, in his capacity as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, early in the nineteenth century interpreted the Constitution as granting the decisive authority to the national government and the federal constitution through the agency of the federal courts in cases where a state and the union collided From the very beginning the national government took upon itself the right to prescribe the conditions under which new states might join the union. Among these conditions were stipulations regarding the establishment and maintenance of systems of public education Andrew Jackson simply foreshadowed Abraham Lincoln when in 1832 he was prepared to send federal troops into South Carolina to prevent that state from nullifying certain acts of the national government.

Recent history suggests, however, that complete clarification of this relationship and final resolution of the controversy are far from realization It is undeniable that there are areas in which national action operates to the detriment of particular sections of the economy or geographical regions Similarly, there are problems, of which the growing national concern for education is an outstanding example, which bring to a head still unresolved questions of the appropriate relation between states and the Federal government. The United States is no longer a nation of isolated settlements, or self sufficient sections, or even of states capable of existing independently We are inter dependent, and interdependence requires a government representative of all the diverse elements in the nation

Limited to Universal Suffrage; Indirect to Direct Representation

One of the noblest and most farsighted acts of the men who drafted the United States Constitution and founded the American nation was their provision in that establishment of the mechanism for change and reform Jefferson had proclaimed the right of revolution in the Declaration of Independence, but it remained for the founding fathers (as someone has so aptly phrased it) to institutionalize the principle. It is because of this that one of the major movements in United States

Limited to Universal Suffrage

history has been a gradual but steady change in the very form of American government

The Constitution established a republican democracy, a government representative of the people but in a form deliberately designed to limit their complete participation. A fear of the tyranny of a monarchy was translated into fear of what Jefferson called the tyranny of the majority; the institutional arrangements under the original Constitution were designed to restrain that possibility. Much of this, of course, has been retained, indeed reinforced (particularly through the operation of the federal judiciary), but much has been modified and transformed to such an extent that today the republic is far more broadly representative than in its original form. This is a great achievement, our history demonstrates its meaning and its worth.

When Washington was inaugurated as President, only a small portion of the white males possessed the right to vote. This right was held to be one which the state governments should regulate, and property qualifications were considered essential criteria for the holding of the franchise. Moreover, the decisive impact of the popular vote was, in all but one instance in national affairs, once, twice, even three steps removed from the people themselves. The membership of the House of Representatives was directly elected, but the Constitution provided that senators, the President, and the Vice President were to be elected indirectly—not by the people themselves but by special electors thought to be better qualified to make such choices or by the state legislatures. Further, in the tradition of Greek democracy, the original Constitution recognized and thereby legitimized the institution of human slavery, although setting a time beyond which the slave trade would no longer be legal. In these and other ways in the insistence in many quarters upon states' rights when clearly they conflicted with human democratic rights, for example, the early United States was a republic run according to a limited interpretation of democracy.

But the fundamental principle of reform was not abrogated. Slowly and steadily these limitations were removed. As new states were formed in the Mississippi valley region, governments were established which guaranteed the right to vote to all men regardless of wealth or

station The election in 1828 of Andrew Jackson, the first "western" President, is traditionally heralded as marking the ascendancy of the common man into American political affairs Successive amendments to the Constitution, *by the methods which that Constitution originally provided* have extended the franchise to women, have abolished the institution of slavery and made citizens of those who were slaves and their descendants, have removed the election of United States senators into the hands of the people directly, and have produced other equally basic reforms in the conduct of American government These reforms have been accompanied by significant educational advances The relationship of education to democratic citizenship has become a central principle of American life It was not coincidence that the first compulsory school attendance laws were enacted during the Jacksonian period Recent attempts to eliminate the last vestige of indirect election, the electoral college, have not yet been successful, but they illustrate that the trend toward increased popular sovereignty is by no means at an end

There is yet much which holds over from an earlier time when the ballot was the province of a privileged few and the popular will was blocked by the restrictions of property, wealth, social station, or religious affiliation Men and women are still denied the right to vote in some sections The majority will is still frequently hamstrung by minorities with representation out of all proportion to their actual numbers Political power continues too often to rest in the hands of those who would subvert the noble purposes for which the Constitution was intended Yet the fathers built far better than they knew Almost completely lacking in precedent and example, they established a form of government adequate for their own day yet sufficiently flexible and adaptable to survive and flourish through over a century and a half of the most sweeping changes in human history American education has no greater responsibility than that of perpetuating and strengthening this tradition and developing awareness of its still un-realized potentialities for the betterment of humankind.

Old World to New World

Abraham Lincoln speaks, in the Gettysburg Address, of the "new nation" established on these shores by our forefathers. Referring probably to the novel and unique political philosophy and form of government which that event involved, he might also have been thinking of a new nation in many other ways. For Mr Lincoln was himself a striking product, not of a new nation only, but of a new culture. Unavoidably, the original immigrants brought with them the old-country patterns in all aspects of life. The best in colonial architecture, for example, was deliberately patterned after the forms with which the settlers had been familiar in the mother country. So it was for all forms of art, for philosophies of religion, conceptions of education, even dress, cookery, and recreation. As the names suggest, the intentions were to set up a New England, a New France, a New Amsterdam, and so on.

But, as we have noted, the power of the new frontiers to change not only the forms of life but the very attitudes toward life was irresistible. One could not long continue to live in the Appalachian foothills just as he had lived in Edinburgh, Dublin, or Cologne, nor did one for long wish to do so. Inevitably and almost from the outset, American patterns began to appear and to modify or to replace European ways. A 'New World' was emerging!

One of the more striking illustrations of the change from old to new is found in the history of American education. It is reasonably accurate to say of the original settlers that they brought with them certain specific educational ideas. They held that the chief function of education was the development of religious literacy. Schools were naturally seen as arms or agencies of the church. Secondary and higher education were concerned exclusively with theology, classical language, and certain phases of ancient history. These were the areas deemed necessary to the few who would minister to the religious needs of the community. Such European patterns were soon found wanting in the context of American conditions, and unprecedented new departures were essential.

And so we might speak of painting in America, from Peale and

Copley to Whistler and Marin, or of architecture with its wondrous development from Sir Christopher Wren to Louis Sullivan and Frank Lloyd Wright. Or music, literature, and sculpture. So, too, we could note the effect of the unique conditions of American life upon philosophy and religion. While many of the colonists came to America to escape religious intolerance, many, when free to practice their own religion without let or hindrance, denied that right to others. But the very number of different religious interpretations which established themselves from Massachusetts to Georgia eventually made it evident that none would be free unless all were tolerated. Roger Williams, fleeing a dogmatic Massachusetts Bay Colony and instituting genuine religious freedom in Rhode Island, was but the most significant early exemplar of the impact of the New World upon Old World religious traditions. The freedom that thus developed was also fertile climate for the appearance of new indigenous denominations—Mormonism, the Disciples of Christ, and Christian Science—and countless American offshoots of the established sects.

As with religion, so too with philosophy generally. The authoritarian conceptions and dogmas of the Old World were put to the test by a pioneer society in the novel conditions of a primitive, often hostile, wilderness, and they did not stand up. Fundamental reorientation was inescapable—in government, education, art, and religion, in one's very attitudes toward life. The ideas and ideals of European visionaries, like Locke, Montesquieu, and Rousseau found New World apostles—Roger Williams again, Thomas Paine, Thomas Jefferson, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Walt Whitman—and a new approach to life was born. Surely American history is the history of the birth and growth of a new culture!

Isolationism to Internationalism

As the United States has moved through the various stages of its growth to its present position of world leadership, its attitudes toward and relations to the rest of the world have inevitably changed too. European history and example led Washington, as he retired from the presidency, to charge his countrymen to avoid 'entangling al

liances" with other countries. This spirit, commonly labeled isolationism, has been an authentic strand in our national psyche ever since. But equally authentic has been a recognition that the United States could not, though many so wished and tried desperately for its realization, live a life apart from the rest of the world. Our independence was won with the help of foreign allies. President Monroe's famous pronouncement warning European nations that the United States would actively resist any further attempts at conquest and colonization in the Western Hemisphere is often cited as the prime example of American isolationism. Nonetheless, here we made common cause with neighboring nations and inextricably wove our destiny with theirs. And when, from the 1840's through the 1890's, isolationism clashed with 'manifest destiny,' the latter always won out. The conquest of the Mexican Southwest, the Oregon controversy, and the Spanish American War carried the flag and the commitment of the United States far beyond any continental borders.

But the deep and natural desire to live alone and leave others alone died hard. Only the prodigious technological advances of the twentieth century and two ghastly world wars in a generation have conclusively demolished the isolationist position. Today, the United States is a leading force in the United Nations, the second major international governmental organization to be established. (Significantly, as illustrative of the force of the isolationist tradition, the United States did not affiliate with the first such agency, the League of Nations.) This country has committed itself to an integral, indeed *the central role* in the ordering of world affairs. To use Washington's word, the American people are indeed entangled, inextricably entangled, in the affairs of all the other peoples of the earth, and we could not, if we would, have it otherwise. Nothing is clearer than that the United States, once a young, self-confident, somewhat self-centered nation of limited international perspectives, has developed into a country aware that its very existence depends upon a cooperative, understanding, indeed intimate relationship with all the world. Just as this nation itself came to realize the impossibility of absolute internal independence and embraced the principle of an interdependent federal union, so too is the United States growing in its acceptance of responsibility as a

member of an even greater community. This also constitutes a serious and paramount charge upon the schools of America, requiring that they deal in broader perspectives than ever before. We cannot be content with a curriculum which is simply 'Western' or "Christian" or "American." A narrow educational program will not suffice to serve our new international citizenship.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

BASIC QUESTION. In what basic respects are the conditions of life in the United States today different from what they were at the time of the adoption of the Constitution? To what extent has American education—in theory and practice—adapted to these social changes? To what extent does education lag behind social change?

- 1 How would you describe life in America—socially, economically, politically, esthetically, spiritually—at the time of Thomas Jefferson's presidency? For such a culture, how did Jefferson propose to provide for education?
- 2 In the New England northeastern region, education developed rather differently than in the southern section of the United States. What aspects of the way of life of those areas were most clearly responsible for this dissimilar educational history?
- 3 The famous Frederick Jackson Turner interpretation of American history holds that, until about 1890, the United States was a nation which never lacked a geographical frontier—i.e., that there was always "more land farther on." What effect did the presence of the frontier have on the development of an American spirit or psyche? How did this phenomenon (the frontier) mold or condition the emerging American tradition?
- 4 What proportion of the American people today live in urban areas, in rural areas? When did the United States population become predominantly urban? What primary factors contributed to this development?
- 5 In what respects would you maintain that we in the United States are living with institutions (economic, political, religious, etc.) which were designed for and established in an earlier time and which are no longer appropriate or effective? To what extent would you wish to include education in this category? (See the **BASIC QUESTION**.)
- 6 Which technological developments in the past 150 years have had the

most profound effects upon the general pattern and tempo of life in America? How would you describe their impact upon American life? What implications for the conduct today of American education does this analysis suggest?

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A Portrait of the American People

JUST WHAT ARE WE as a people like? Such a question as this, rash in the extreme, could be answered in a million ways, emphasizing one or another facet of the complex that is our contemporary culture. Our task here is to try to highlight certain salient features of the way in which we live. This chapter presents a description of the American people of the mid twentieth century—necessarily brief and incomplete—organized around twelve sets of basic questions which might be asked about any people.

1 *How many Americans are there? Are we increasing in number and how rapidly? How many are men how many are women?*

The official report of the Bureau of the Census stated that the total population of the continental United States on April 1, 1950 was 150,697,361. This reflected an all time record population growth for a ten year period between successive censuses, an increase of 19,028,086 over 1940 or a 14.5 percent rise in ten years. By the end of 1955 the total had climbed to approximately 165,300,000—a nearly equivalent increase in just half the time. Forecasts of future population, on the basis of projecting current trends, lead to estimates for 1965 ranging from 180,900,000 to 190,000,000 and for 1975 from 198,600,000 to 221,000,000. This steady increase is the result of a continued rise in the birth rate as the death rate has consistently dropped.

The birth rate (that is, the number of children born per 1,000

population) stood at 25.0 in 1915. By 1933 it had reached the low point of 16.6. In 1947, the peak year of the current high period, the figure was 25.8. For subsequent years, the birth rate has hovered between 24.0 and 25.0. Conversely, the death rate (that is, the number of deaths per 1,000 population) has declined from 13.2 in 1915 to 9.3 for the mid-1950's.

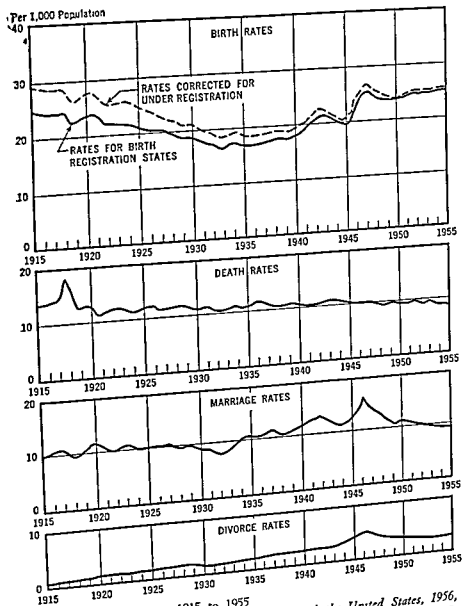
Although these data show a continuous increase in our total numbers, for the first forty years of this century the *rate* of that increase was consistently declining. Prior to World War II, it was generally assumed that a "plateau" in population growth would be reached by about 1975. The postwar surge in the birth rate has forced drastic revision in such estimates, for the rate of population increase has been significantly accelerated. The year 1954 saw the largest natural population increase, in absolute numbers, in our history. Now, predictions postpone the attainment of any such static situation until well after the year 2,000, while some suggest that the earlier decline in the rate of increase has been reversed for a lengthy and altogether indeterminate period.

In 1940 there were 454,000 more males than females; this meant that for every 100 females there were 100.7 males. In 1950 there were 1,030,883 more females than males, which reversed the ratio so that for every 100 females there were only 98.6 males. These are ratios which vary at different age levels, but at the upper ranges the pre-dominance of women is accentuated. The studies of the Twentieth Century Fund anticipate a continuance of this trend, predicting an excess of females over males of nearly 2,000,000 by the year 1960.

Such statistics as these show that the responsibilities of the American school, viewed purely from the standpoint of the numbers to be educated, grow more pronounced. We cannot, in a democracy, avoid facing squarely the question, Are our schools keeping pace with our growing population?

2. *How old are the American people? Are they growing older or younger?*

Of the total of over 150 million, about 12,250,000 persons were sixty-five years of age and over in 1950, roughly 8 percent of the



Vital Statistics Rates 1915 to 1955

Source: Taken from the *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1956*, (Washington, D C, Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, U S Government Printing Office), p 57

population This was up from 9,019,000 in 1940 While the total population increased by 14 percent between 1940 and 1950, the over sixty five group increased by nearly 25 percent This increase has been partly counterbalanced by the well known growth of the child population, particularly since World War II The impact of this tremendous growth has already been felt by the elementary schools, and by 1955 this wave of additional children had begun to pass through the high schools These factors taken together meant that the median age of Americans in 1950 had reached a fraction over thirty years This contrasts with a median age of 18 19 years in 1850, 22 9 years in 1900, and 29 years in 1940 (The median age is that age point at which the population is divided in halves, with half the population older and half younger)

The primary reason for this phenomenon is the rapidly increasing life expectancy in the United States Whereas in 1900 the average American could expect to live to be forty nine, by the 1950's this life expectancy figure was approaching seventy In 1952, the life expectancy figure at birth for Americans of all races and both sexes had reached 68 6 years, a rise of 5 6 years since 1940 More specifically, the average life expectancy of white males in 1951 was 66 6 years, of white females 72 6 years, of nonwhite males 59 4 years, and of nonwhite females 63 7 years

One very interesting and significant feature of this ever increasing longevity is the shift that has taken place in the major causes of death over the past half century This shift, largely from communicable and respiratory diseases to degenerative illness, is directly attributable to advances in public health and medical practice, the fact of an aging population, improved diagnostic techniques, and more widespread medical care Table 21, based upon the annual reports of the United States Public Health Service, illustrates this shift

The American school idea and the system created for its realization, were based upon a commitment to the education of the young Today, with a populace growing older, a broadened view is required Adult education must receive much greater emphasis and support, just as retirement and pension policies have gained in importance Yet, at the same time, the primary obligation to children and youth

Table 2.1 THE TEN MAJOR CAUSES OF DEATH

1900 1904	1950 1954
Tuberculosis	Diseases of the heart
Pneumonia and influenza	Cancer
Diseases of the heart	Cerebral hemorrhage
Diarrhea and enteritis	Accidents (except automobile)
Cerebral hemorrhage	Infant mortality
Nephritis	Pneumonia and influenza
All accidents	Motor vehicle accidents
Cancer	Diabetes
Childhood diseases	Nephritis
Typhoid fever	Tuberculosis

must not be in any way reduced. A serious problem of balance is clearly before us.

3 *What is our ancestry, our racial background?*

The census classifies the American people broadly into two groups: white and nonwhite. These categories are further refined into native born and foreign born. The birth rate for nonwhites in the continental United States consistently exceeds that for whites. For every 1,000 females of all races between the ages of fifteen and forty-four, there were 113.5 births in 1952. The figure for white women was 109.8 and for nonwhites 143.1. Since the late 1940s, this situation has been partially counterbalanced by relaxation of the rigid bars against immigration which had been in force throughout the 1930s and early 1940s. Thus, between 1948 and 1953, for example, over 1,250,000 immigrant aliens, almost entirely in the white category, were admitted. These data mean that, since 1940, this more liberal immigration policy had accounted for almost 10 percent of the total population increase.

The latest breakdown of the ancestry of the white population is to be found in the census data for 1950. In that year 33,750,653 white persons were reported to be of foreign birth or American born by foreign or mixed parentage. Listed below are the major alien groups:

- 4,727,000 of German extraction
- 4,570,000 of Italian extraction
- 2,786,000 of Polish extraction
- 2,542,000 of Russian extraction
- 2,396,000 of Irish extraction

The nonwhite population, almost entirely native, totaled 15,755,333 in 1950. Of this total, the largest single group, of course, was the Negro population—15,044,000. Other nonwhite groups, and their approximate numbers in 1950, were

343,000	American Indians
142,000	Japanese
117,000	Chinese
110,000	from all other nonwhite classifications

There is little question that the school is America's primary instrument of social cohesion and unity. Educational policy must be governed by a thorough awareness of responsibility to all groups in our society and by dedication to the fullest development of all to their potential for democratic citizenship.

4 *What kinds of work do we do?*

This question is usually answered in one of two ways. Our occupational character can be described in terms either of the kind of work performed or of the type of business or industry with which we are connected. The total civilian employment in January, 1956, stood at 62,900,000, of which agricultural labor accounted for approximately 5,600,000. At that time, the number of unemployed, over fourteen years of age, was 2,900,000, or somewhat less than 5 percent of the civilian labor force. Analysis of our occupational complexion in the mid 1950's indicates the following distributions of employment.

Table 2.2 THE AMERICAN LABOR FORCE IN 1956

<i>By occupational grouping</i>	<i>Number</i>
Operatives and kindred workers	12,958,000
Craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers	8,500,000
Clerical and kindred workers	8,475,000
Managers, officials and proprietors (except farm)	6,432,000
Professional, technical and kindred workers	6,284,000
Service workers except private household	5,245,000
Sales workers	4,121,000
Farmers and farm managers	3,552,000
Laborers except farm and mine	3,331,000
Private household workers	2,093,000
Farm laborers	1,898,000

By industry¹

Manufacturing	16,800,000
Wholesale and retail trade	10,720,000
Service industries	5,611,000
Agriculture	5,470,000
Transportation, communication, and public utilities	4,089,000
Finance, insurance, and real estate	2,222,000
Construction	2,217,000
Mining	747,000

¹ Note that this does not account, except incidentally, for the professions

Source U S Bureau of the Census, *Monthly Report on the Labor Force 1956* Series P 57, Nos 163 and 164 (Washington, D C, 1956)

For a people whose occupational interests and specialties are so varied, the school has a dual responsibility. It must assist in the preparation of youth to take a functioning and productive part in the economy, contributing background knowledge and skill training. But at the same time the school must provide common bonds—of citizenship, cultural understanding, and moral values. For the United States in the mid twentieth century, this task is crucial.

5 *How much money do we make?*

For this work, what do we receive in wages or salary? It is significant to note at the outset that, except for the unnatural economic conditions which obtained during World War II, wages and salaries have steadily increased while the hours of labor (the "work week") have just as steadily diminished. Average yearly income for American households (measured in terms of the purchasing power of the dollar in 1947) rose from \$2,840 in 1940 to \$4,180 in 1944, fell to \$3,420 in 1950, and is expected to reach \$3,780 in 1960. The average work week, which stood at 43 hours in 1940 (it was 70 hours in 1850 and 60 hours in 1900) had been reduced to 40 hours in length by 1950. Barring the outbreak of major war, this figure is expected to reach 37.5 hours per week by 1960.

The Bureau of the Census in its report on consumer income for 1954 stated that approximately 15,700,000 families (out of nearly 42 million) were receiving yearly incomes of \$5,000 or more. Another 8 million

families were receiving \$2,000 or less, while the remaining 18 million families fell in the income range of \$2,000 to \$5,000 (The census defines "family" as a group of two or more related persons living together.) Table 23 analyzes this matter in further detail.

Table 23 INCOME OF FAMILIES IN THE UNITED STATES, 1954

<i>Income range</i>	<i>Number of families</i>
Under \$1,000	3,700,000
\$1,000-\$1,999	4,600,000
\$2,000-\$2,999	5,000,000
\$3,000-\$3,999	6,400,000
\$4,000-\$4,999	6,500,000
\$5,000-\$5,999	5,000,000
\$6,000-\$6,999	3,600,000
\$7,000-\$9,999	4,700,000
\$10,000-\$14,000	1,800,000
\$15,000 and over	600,000

Source U S Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports*, "Consumer Income Family Income in the United States 1954 and 1953," Series P-60, No 20 (Washington, D C, 1955)

The median American family income in 1954 was found to be \$4,200, a rise of \$300 from the previous year and almost \$1,000 from 1947. This over all figure, however, should be examined in terms of the income for various types of families. While median family income in urban localities equaled approximately \$4,700, in rural towns the median stood at \$4,000. The median for farm families was \$2,400, for nonwhites \$2,461. Finally, in this connection, it is significant to note the relationship which obtains between income and occupation. Table 2-4 indicates, for 1954, this relationship in terms of the major occupation of the head of the family. Note, for example, that nearly two thirds of those families classified as headed by farmers received incomes of \$2,500 or less, while only 3.9 percent of the families in the professional technical group fell in the under \$2,500 class. Nearly three quarters of the families headed by members of the professional technical group received salaries of \$5,000 or more, and a significant one half of those classified as craftsmen and foremen (that is, the skilled labor category) were similarly situated.

Table 24 RELATIONSHIP OF FAMILY INCOME TO OCCUPATION OF FAMILY HEAD, 1954

Occupational group	Percent of group	
	under \$2,500	\$5,000 and over
Farmers and farm managers	64.0	12.7
Laborers	27.9	20.4
Service workers	23.7	27.9
Proprietors, managers, and officials	12.9	59.3
Operatives	12.4	34.9
Clerical, sales, etc.	9.2	48.8
Craftsmen, foremen, etc.	7.9	51.4
Professional, technical, etc.	3.9	70.3

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports: Consumer Income: Family Income in the United States, 1954 and 1953*, Series P-60, No. 20, (Washington, D. C., 1955)

How much money do we make? Let the Twentieth Century Fund, in its latest analysis of America's economic position, give an answer. 'The aggregate real income of the more than 160 million Americans today probably exceeds the combined income of the 600 million people living in Europe and Russia and far surpasses the total income of the more than 1 billion inhabitants of Asia.'

6 How do we spend our money?

How is this money spent in the United States? Apparently, for the country as a whole in the mid 1950's, roughly 11 to 12 cents out of every dollar of income was paid to one or another level of government in taxes, while around 6 cents went into savings. The remainder, what might be called the consumer's dollar, was spent in approximately the following proportions:

27 cents was spent for food and nonalcoholic beverages

25 cents was spent for housing—rent, maintenance, utilities and the like

12 cents was spent for clothes and personal grooming

11½ cents was spent on transportation and automobile maintenance

5½ cents was spent for recreation

5 cents was spent for medical care

5 cents was spent on personal business

4 cents was spent on alcoholic beverages

2½ cents was spent on tobacco

1½ cents was spent on religious and welfare activities

1 cent was spent on private education and research

Table 25 supplements these statistics with detailed data respecting consumer spending in two fairly representative American cities. All these figures are somewhat misleading as indices of what we spend on education. Many of the items listed—recreation, reading, and the contributions which are lumped together in the miscellaneous category—are often definitely educational expenditures. And, included in the amount paid out in taxes, of course, is the 2 to 2½ cents per dollar which supported public education. It does seem clear, however, that the place of education in the over all American budget is not so favorable as it should be, as it must be if education is to serve democracy as the times require. When total expenditures for tobacco and

Table 25 CONSUMPTION EXPENDITURE PATTERN OF FAMILIES IN SELECTED CITIES, PERCENT DISTRIBUTION 1950

Item	Cleveland Ohio	Butte, Montana
Average size of family	3.3	3.4
Average money income after taxes	\$4,876	\$3,937
Housing	11.5	8.4
Utilities	3.6	3.9
Household operation	4.7	3.1
Housefurnishings and equipment	6.5	5.4
Food	28.1	32.6
Alcoholic beverages	1.9	2.2
Tobacco	1.7	2.0
Personal care	2.1	2.2
Clothing	12.9	12.7
Medical care	4.5	5.2
Recreation	5.5	4.2
Reading	0.9	1.0
Education (private)	0.6	0.6
Automobile transportation	12.0	14.2
Other transportation	2.3	1.0
Miscellaneous	1.2	1.3

Source: *Family Income, Expenditures and Savings in 1950* U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin #1097, revised, (Washington, D. C., 1953)

alcoholic liquors are equal to, if not more than, those for education, a serious misconception of basic values is evident

7 How much formal education have we had?

The picture of the general educational level of the American people is perhaps best described as encouraging but far from satisfactory. Compared with similar data from other countries, these figures give us justifiable reason for some pride, considered in the light of our needs and our ideals, they demonstrate that there yet remains much to be done.

In 1954, 35,906,000 persons from 5 to 29 years of age were listed as enrolled in school or college. This constituted 59.7 percent of the age group and indicated an increased enrollment of almost 6,000,000 since 1950. The table which appears below shows the percentages of the population at the intervening age levels who were in actual attendance.

Table 2-6 PERCENT OF THE POPULATION 5 TO 29 YEARS OLD ENROLLED IN SCHOOL OCTOBER 1950 1953 AND 1954

	Totals	5	6	7 9	10 13	14 17	18 19	20 24	25 29
Oct 1950	52.7	51.7	97.0	98.9	98.6	83.3	29.4	9.0	3.0
Oct 1953	58.3	58.4	97.7	99.4	99.4	85.9	31.2	11.1	2.9
Oct 1954	59.7	57.7	96.8	99.2	99.5	87.1	32.4	11.2	4.1

Source: Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports* Series P 20, No. 54 1955

It is instructive to see the foregoing figures in relation to the corresponding data for a previous year. Here is the enrollment record for 1940 when, however, the studies stopped with age 24.

	5	6	7 9	10 13	14 17	18 19	20 24
Total	57.7	18.0	69.1	94.3	95.5	79.3	28.9
							6.6

Source: *Ibid* Series P 20, 1951

Analysis of such returns discloses that of every ten children entering the first grade, one or two would not complete grade school, only five would complete high school, and perhaps two would finish the equivalent of junior college. Furthermore, while approximately 85 per-

cent of the age group five to seventeen years were in attendance at school, about one quarter of the sixteen to seventeen year-olds and two thirds of the eighteen and nineteen year-olds were *not*. The more recent statistics, while they indicate substantial increases in the percentages in school from ages five to thirteen and twenty to twenty-four, demonstrate that attendance for the late teen age group has not kept pace with the population increase. In considerable measure, this teen age decline has been caused by the claims of military service and by the relatively easy availability of employment. The increased enrollments after age twenty are attributable in some degree to the federal and state programs of veterans' educational support.

An examination of the educational achievement of the adult population is also challenging. In 1950, for all persons twenty five years of age and older, the median number of years of school completed stood at 9.3, a rise from 8.6 years in 1940. Moreover, whereas for those aged sixty five and over (persons whose schooling ceased some fifty years ago) the median was 8.2 years of school, for those between twenty five and twenty nine years of age (persons reflecting more accurately the *current* educational patterns), the median was 12.1 years. Thus, as the recent report of the Twentieth Century Fund notes, "the typical young adult today completes four years of high school, while the chances are that his father had less than a year in high school and that his grandfather did not go beyond grade school." For white adults, the figure in 1950 was 9.7 years of school completed, for non whites 6.9. We should also note in this connection that illiteracy among the adult population (for this purpose persons fourteen years of age and older) stood at 2.5 percent in 1952. Significantly, 1.8 percent of whites and 10.2 percent of the nonwhite group were so classified.

8 In what sorts of families do we live?

For 1950, the census reported that there were in the United States about 43,000,000 households," most of which were families as defined earlier. Of these, approximately 28,500,000 were listed as urban and 14,250,000 were classified as rural. (The Bureau of the Census has defined "urban" to include all places of 2,500 or more inhabitants and the "densely settled urban fringe" around cities of 50,000 or more. All other territory is classified as "rural.") The average number of persons

per household for the nation as a whole was 3.83. The range was from 13,000,000 two person households to 2,000,000 households of seven or more persons.

As a legal institution, how stable is the American family? One can only conjecture on the basis of the statistics, but the number of marriages has stayed constant and relatively high ever since the war years. While the year 1946 was the highest year on record for the number of marriages performed—2,291,045—every subsequent year has recorded a marriage rate at or above the average prewar figure. It is expected that for several years to come the annual number of marriages will stand at about 1,500,000. The years since the war have also witnessed a steady decline in the rate of divorce from a record 1944-1946 period. The 390,000 divorces in 1953 represented a drop of almost 40 percent since 1946.

Some serious educational questions are implicit in these figures regarding the American family. We must ask to what extent the school is contributing to these trends. Is it preparing our youth adequately for the responsibilities of family life? Is it tending to absorb or appropriate functions which are fundamentally familial in nature to the detriment of both family and school? Consideration of both questions underscores the ever present need for improved coordination of home and school activities, for more effective relations between these two central American institutions.

9 In what sorts of houses do we live? What are our homes like?

Of the 42,800,000 occupied dwelling units reported by the Bureau of the Census for 1950, over 23 million, or approximately 55 percent, were occupied by their owners, while the remaining 19 million were tenant occupied. Of these dwellings, 91 percent were occupied by whites, 9 percent by nonwhites. The 1950 reports on the condition of these houses stated that about six out of ten dwelling units in the United States 'had the essential plumbing facilities of private bath, private flush toilet, and hot running water, and were not dilapidated'. Due to prodigious efforts in the construction of new housing since the war, these data represent a very substantial improvement over the situation in 1940. Nevertheless, substandard conditions have by no means been eliminated. For example, the 1950 census reported that 13

million dwelling units lacked private flush toilet facilities and nearly 14 million lacked private shower or bathtub. Less than half (43 per cent) of the rural farm housing was found to have inside piped running water. Central heating was absent from nearly 50 percent of the homes, while 6 percent were without electric lighting. The problem remains acute.

By 1954-1955, the number of privately owned motor vehicles in the continental United States more than equaled the number of homes. Reported in that year were 48,324,000 motor vehicles, of which some 9,500,000 were trucks, busses, or other commercial vehicles. One could almost report that for every home in the United States there were three radios in operation in 1955. There was a total of 135 million radio sets in use, of which nearly 36 million were automobile radio receivers. Television receivers increased in popularity at an astounding rate. By December 1955 it was reported by the television industry that 38,700,000 television sets were in operation, roughly a set in nine out of every ten homes. Such statistics are merely a prelude to a more extended later discussion of the impact of mass media of communication upon the community and the educational process. American education must be seen as much broader than the formal institutions we have provided for schooling. Educational responsibility extends far beyond the classroom.

10 *In what sorts of communities do we live? How stationary are we?*

Of our total population in 1950, approximately 64 percent was listed as urban (as earlier defined) and 36 percent as rural. This breaks down by place classifications according to size as shown in Table 2.7.

The degree to which someone is likely to remain in a particular place was strikingly illustrated by the census data which were published in a survey of population mobility in the 1950's. This report of population movement between April 1953 and April 1954 indicated that nearly 20 percent, or 29 million, of us were living in a different house from that which we had occupied one year previously. This high mobility of so large a portion of our people, primarily but not exclusively a country-to-city process, involved the nonwhites somewhat less and for shorter distances than the whites. Further, this migration

Table 27 POPULATION GROUPS, 1950

	Percent of total population
Places of 1,000,000 or more	11.5
500,000-1,000,000	6.1
250,000-500,000	5.5
100,000-250,000	6.3
50,000-100,000	5.9
25,000-50,000	5.8
10,000-25,000	7.9
5,000-10,000	5.4
2,500-5,000	4.3
1,000-2,500	4.3
Rural territory	36.0

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, *U. S. Census of Population 1950* Vol. I, (Washington, D. C., 1953)

tended to be appreciably more pronounced among young persons than among those above forty five years of age

The American commitment to the provision of equality of educational opportunity is complicated by the fact that we move about so much. Each section of the country is the inheritor in some measure of the educational provisions made in some other region. This in turn makes education a truly *national* problem. It is no longer one which can be adequately handled on a localized or regional basis alone. No aspect of the educational process is untouched by this phenomenon.

11 *To what sorts of organizations do we belong? What are our affiliations?*

One of our foremost historians, Arthur M. Schlesinger, has called us "A Nation of Joiners." We Americans are prone to join associations, from worship to recreation and from reasons of necessity to reasons of social prestige. Any complete description of the American tendency to organize would be lengthy indeed. Perhaps our purpose here will be served if we note in brief the religious and workers' organizations on the American scene. Statistics of religious affiliation are variously computed by the more than 250 different religious denominations in the United States, for there are varying definitions of church membership employed. Over all, more than one out of

every two Americans is a member of some church. The total membership in religious organizations in 1954 was reported as over 97,000,000. Table 2-8 indicates something of the distribution of this membership among the major religious bodies.

Table 2-8 CHURCH MEMBERSHIP IN THE UNITED STATES, 1954

<i>Denomination</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Protestant bodies over 50,000 *	56,000,000	58
Roman Catholic	32,500,000	34
Jewish congregations	5,500,000	4
Eastern Orthodox	2,800,000	2
Others	2,500,000	2

* Protestant denominations range from the Methodist Church with 9,150,000 members and the Southern Baptist Convention with over 7,800,000 through the Unitarian churches with 86,000 to small local churches claiming as few as 50 members.

Source: *Yearbook of American Churches, 1956*, (New York, National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States of America, 1955)

Approximately one out of every four members of the American labor force belongs to an organization dedicated to the advancement of the interests of American workingmen. In 1955, roughly 18,000,000 members were reported for the organized labor unions of the United States:

American Federation of Labor	10,900,000
Congress of Industrial Organizations	5,200,000 ¹
Other independent labor organizations	1,800,000

If we add to these figures the membership in such professional associations as those of the physicians, the teachers, the lawyers, the nurses, and so on, we see even more clearly the extent to which the occupational life of the average American is conditioned or at least influenced by organizations of this character. We deal in Part Six with several such organizations as they influence the conduct of education.

¹ These two labor organizations were merged into the AFL-CIO in December, 1955, but they each retain a considerable degree of independence and their memberships should be seen separately as well as in combination.

12 *How do we spend our leisure?*

In an earlier connection we noted the rapid decrease which the twentieth century has seen in the average work week, a drop from 60 hours in 1900 to 40 hours in 1950. The obvious corollary is an increase in the number of hours available for nonoccupational, or leisure time activities. We noted that we spend on the average 5 cents out of every dollar on our recreation and amusement. How do we spend this time and money?

The data for the postwar period on what are called consumption expenditures for recreational goods give us at least a rough measure of the American at his leisure. From the nickel spent on recreation, by far the largest single portion—well above one penny out of the five—was spent on radio and television receivers, on phonographs and other musical instruments. The other major items, measured by the expense involved, were (in order)

Sports equipment and participant recreation

Motion pictures

Hobbies

Reading

Admissions to sporting events

Clubs and organizations

Commercial amusements other than movies, theaters and athletics

Legitimate theater, opera, concerts, etc

These findings dramatize some rather striking changes in American recreational patterns which began to appear in the late 1940's. The abundant appeal of television, the mounting popularity of hobbies (perhaps foremost among these were gardening and photography), and the 'do it yourself' boom all had the effect of depressing the amounts spent on motion pictures and other spectator amusements. At the same time, such phenomena as suburbanization and the prevalence of larger families resulted in markedly greater interest in participant recreation and thus in increased expenditures for sports equipment and toys.

In a later chapter we shall examine more closely the character of certain of these recreational outlets. Many charge the school with

responsibility for inadequate education in cultural appreciation. They insist that the school must make special efforts to raise the standards of recreational activity. Others maintain that education for basic skills and knowledge is all that the school can handle, that other agencies must work at the task of improving esthetic and literary tastes. Few would deny, however, that the fact of increased and increasing leisure poses new problems for the American school and imposes new demands upon its resources.

* * *

What do statistics and trends of this nature mean for the conduct of American education? What do these data suggest are the routes which our schools should, or must, follow in the years ahead? What directions in curriculum, in teaching practice, in professional policy, and in administrative procedure are indicated, if not demanded, by data such as have here been all too briefly summarized? Certainly it is clear that educational policy will be empty indeed if it fails to come to grips with the crucial questions underscored here. It is our hope that the discussions to follow will help clarify the issues and suggest some solutions worthy of consideration.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

BASIC QUESTION Just what effect does the composition of a population have upon the conduct and organization of education? In what important respects will population changes necessitate educational reorientation and reform?

- 1 What is the current population of the United States? How does this compare (a) numerically and (b) percentage wise with the population in 1880, 1900, 1920, 1930, and 1940? What proportions of the population were actually in school in those years?
- 2 What has happened over the past 50 years to the *rate* of population growth? How has this affected the conduct of education?
- 3 How do these data (questions 1 and 2) compare with those for leading foreign nations, e.g., China, Indonesia, the USSR, Japan, France, Great Britain, Germany, Brazil, Argentina?
- 4 What do the census data reveal regarding the age composition or break down by age groups in our population? What is the 'median American

- age" and which age level is most numerous? How do these factors affect the "demand for education?"
5. What is the normal life expectancy of an American at (a) birth, (b) age 5, (c) age 15, (d) age 25, (e) age 40, (f) age 50, (g) age 65? What are the implications of such data for educational policy?
 6. Population wise, note two different communities. Community A is a war boom town settling into some sort of peacetime industrial stability, with a population preponderantly made up of factory workers under forty and their families. Community B is an old established suburb of a large city peopled largely by retired business and professional people, where there is no industry, and the children are primarily from families of the mercantile and service enterprises essential to the community's existence. How would you contrast the educational problems likely to arise in these two communities?
 7. Compare the data regarding amount of formal education and those describing the use of leisure time. What conclusions are warrantable?
 8. To what extent and in what specific respects do you feel that changing patterns in such matters as family organization, leisure time activity, and/or occupations should produce basic changes in the educational program?

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CHAPTER 3

The Abiding Principles of American Democracy

IT HAS BEEN SAID that democracy will die if it is ever conclusively defined. This must not deter us from striving to understand its meanings and its underlying values. Democracy is not tangible, not concrete, and certainly not stable in its meanings. Nonetheless, we must endeavor ceaselessly to capture its essence. For if a society's institutions must be built, tested, and judged in terms of the values which that society cherishes, those values must be constantly in the forefront. This study of American education takes as its basic premise, therefore, the conviction that the schools, indeed the entire educational process, are established and maintained ultimately to perpetuate, foster, and strengthen the basic principles of democracy. We cannot proceed on such a basis without an examination of the principles themselves.

The discussion which follows is an attempt to state and define those elements in the American value system which are essential, those principles by which we live and which condition and govern (or *should*) our every action, if we in truth accept the democratic ethic as our standard. What, then, are these principles and what do they mean? What are the essential ingredients of American democracy, within which American schools operate and which the schools exist to perfect and enhance? In all humility, twelve such elements are presented. They are conceived as mutually indispensable, and no

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inference is intended to suggest that some are more important or more crucial than others¹

Cultural Pluralism

Contemporary social anthropologists have suggested a term which admirably expresses one of the primary facets of American democracy. Noting, as we did earlier, the heterogeneous racial, national, and cultural origins of the American people, these social scientists see the United States as "culturally pluralistic." Whatever the American people are, it is because of the contributions of countless diverse cultural groups—Germans, English, Swedes, Chinese, Negroes, Jews, and many more. But cultural pluralism as a democratic principle is more than the statement of the fact; it refers more basically to the climate of opinion which *accepts and honors* these cultural tributaries. History records examples without number of the rejection by a national or racial group of the advantages of cultural exchange. In all such cases, even down to our own day, such unintelligent inhumanity has been the product of nondemocratic regimes. Conversely, therefore, one of the essential elements in the American democratic creed is the spirit of respect for and acceptance of the contributions of all cultures, races, nationalities, religions, *on their own merits*. Out of the blending and the reformulation of these culturally unique elements emerges a stronger, more virile, and more humane whole. This is democracy in America.

Respect for the Dignity of the Individual

An eminent student of the contemporary Russian scene tells us that the Soviet Union is democratic with regard to all cultures and undemocratic with regard to all people. He refers here to the fact that, in the Soviet Union, the central government affords considerable freedom for the expression of cultural uniqueness to the several member na-

¹ What follows is adapted in large part from a syllabus prepared for the basic course in Foundations of Education by the Division of Foundations of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University.

tions, allowing them to use the local language, enjoy local literature, art, music, and the like. At least externally, here is an example of cultural pluralism in operation. But the individual member of each cultural minority is regarded as of small consequence: his aims and aspirations, his likes and dislikes, his *individuality* are ignored. Within the relatively superficial framework of freedom to participate in the expression of certain harmless cultural patterns, the individual loses his identity completely. This, too, has been the general result with tyranny all through the ages.

Such a condition is the antithesis of democracy. Central to the democratic faith is respect for human personality and the dignity of the individual. It was to this that Jefferson addressed himself when he wrote of "Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." And it was to this that Franklin Roosevelt and Winston Churchill were attending when they drafted the Atlantic Charter, with its concern that the individual should be enabled to live free from fear and want, free to express himself and worship as conscience and reason dictate. The individual human being has a right to live his own life uncoerced and unoppressed so long as he in turn does not imperil or impair the welfare and happiness of others, so long as he respects the rights of others to that to which he considers himself entitled. This, too, is essential to American democracy.

The Pre-Eminence of Individual Welfare

It must follow from the preceding that the welfare of the individual is a democratic society's primary concern. Again, for nondemocratic cultures in antiquity and in the mid twentieth century, the welfare of the state or the monarchy or the party has been elevated while concern for individual well-being has been depressed, ignored, or indeed condemned as evil. Democracy in the United States, however, holds that the only justification for governments, states, social institutions of any description must ultimately be found in their effective contribution to *individual* welfare, happiness, and dignity. This means, of course, that the individual is superior to any agency created in his interest or for his service and that ultimately, again, the appropriate

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role of such institutions must be defined in terms of their relation to individuals. To cite but a single example a man is accused of offense against the laws which society has enacted for its protection. It would be much more efficient, expeditious, and inexpensive if, when the court of original jurisdiction finds him guilty, sentence were immediately imposed. But the concern of a democracy for individual welfare allows for the right of appeal and retrial. The rights of the individual take precedence even over the institutions established to protect those rights. American democracy would be a very different thing were this element disavowed or denied.

Civil Liberties

And what are these rights which democratic institutions are designed to guarantee, protect, and promote? Essentially, they are found most consummately expressed in the Bill of Rights, those first ten amendments to the Constitution the promise of which was a condition of ratification. Jefferson had described it as self-evident that 'all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights.' Of what do these rights consist, these liberties which we call civil because they accompany and are indispensable to the nature of citizenship itself?

All are declarations of freedom, freedom to think and express one self without restriction save only as the laws of treason or libel constitute limitations, freedom to worship, or not to worship, without social or juridical interference of any kind, freedom to stand secure in the possession of property, protected by the requirement that "due process of law" be exercised, freedom from unreasonable searches and seizures and the guarantee of the right to receive just compensation for private property appropriated for public use, and the freedom which is implicit in the requirement of trial by jury. To these basic liberties proclaimed in the Bill of Rights have been added others: freedom from "involuntary servitude", the right to vote, guaranteed against restrictions of race or sex, and the further guarantee that rights proclaimed in the federal constitution are equally the responsibility of the several states.

And these rights are "unalienable" They are beyond the power or province of governments, parties, courts, or legislatures to restrict or abridge They may not be abrogated or denied even by popular majorities, save only as the extensively safeguarded amendment procedure provides Only thus could they be in truth secure and only thus can a democracy exist American democracy required such a principle

Separation of Church and State

From among the freedoms enumerated above, many would point to one as the linchpin of democracy in America *This one is the freedom of religious expression* The original settlements on these shores were in large measure the direct result of an absence of religious tolerance in Europe The chief instruments of our beginnings as a nation—the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights—testify to an intense commitment to the proposition that (to use the memorable words of Madison) religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction according to the free dictates of conscience "

It was believed essential, therefore, that religion be freed from any dependence upon the support of the civil state, save as the state strove to uphold the principle of freedom itself True spiritual independence was seen to be impossible of realization if churches were to be subject to the dictates or controls of the state Equally, full freedom in the secular political sphere was felt to be jeopardized as particular churches or sects exercised controls over civil affairs At the same time, as the number and variety of religious denominations in America multiplied ever more rapidly, it became obvious that the traditional alliance of the civil government with particular churches was incompatible with the idea of freedom for *all* forms of belief The only possible position open to a state, in a society committed to complete freedom of religious expression and convinced that preferential treatment of certain faiths frustrated the achievement of that freedom, was absolute neutrality The only means of maintaining that neutrality was to

drafted by men who were the inheritors or apostles of the new status of human reason. Faith in mankind and in the inevitability of his perfection was the underlying premise for the promulgation of the doctrine of inalienable, natural rights. That faith required an increasing place for human reason in the management of temporal matters; its certain corollary was a government democratic in form and spirit.

There are those who find this dream totally irrelevant to the conduct of contemporary affairs. They tell us that recent history has conclusively proved that human progress is *not* inevitable and that to base a system of government or a philosophy of life upon any such outmoded concept is folly indeed. But democracy cannot shed its heritage so easily or so glibly. After more than a century and a half of experience it is perhaps legitimate to speak of the mellowing of the democratic ideal, in the sense of coming into closer contact with the facts of human existence. Democracy may not now represent commitment to the principle of inevitable human perfectibility. It is equally clearly *not* committed on the other hand to a disavowal of the *possibility* of human progress. As we noted at the outset of this discussion, democracy escapes exact definition precisely because of this quality of belief in change for the better. Democracy, dedicated as we have seen to the improvement of the conditions of human life and the enhancement of individual happiness, is never content with a status quo, it is constantly and inherently dissatisfied with conditions as they are. It seeks after progress because *it believes in progress*. Here, again, is evidence of the oppositeness of democratic and totalitarian attitudes, for the latter can survive only as circumstances grow ever more static. Democracy must advance or it ceases to be democracy. This too is of the essence of America.

Freedom of Enterprise

We have noted our fundamental commitment to the dignity and welfare of the individual and have stressed our belief in the possibility of human progress. These principles are joined as attention is focused on still another central ingredient, perhaps best listed as freedom of enterprise. The underlying traditions of all cultures reflect certain

social, political, and religious views, they also reflect subscription to some conception of economic life. For the United States, the economy, the business of making a living, has always been regarded as an area in which opportunity for individual initiative and creativity must be protected and encouraged. Perhaps in no other sphere has philosophical and political controversy been so acute, but the nation has never departed from the principle that, with due regard for the general welfare, freedom for economic endeavor is essential.

It is quite true that economic activity today is far more closely regulated, by government and by business itself, than in earlier times. This condition leads some to insist that true freedom of enterprise is no more, that it vanished with the *laissez faire* theories and the "rugged individualism" of the nineteenth century. But it is well to remember that at no period in our history has the economy been totally free, we have always insisted upon some elements of control in the social interest. We have come to speak, with pride, of the American "mixed economy," signifying an acceptance of and a belief in the operation, side by side, of private and public (that is governmental) enterprise.

The fact remains, however, that the core of the American democratic tradition as applied to economic affairs is the belief in the freedom of the individual—merchant, manufacturer, farmer, or landlord—to conduct his business at the highest possible level of independence consistent with the general good. His status as an individual and his potential contribution to the social progress for which America stands are fully realized only as this freedom of enterprise is protected and promoted.

Peaceful Change

The Age of Reason was revolutionary in the strongest sense of the term. With a few notable exceptions, such as Athenian democracy at certain periods, the kind of change or progress to which democracy is dedicated had always been accompanied previously by strife and bloodshed. Such movements were regarded by some as mutinies, by others as revolutions, to paraphrase Jawaharlal Nehru the mutiny which succeeded was hailed as a revolution, while the revolution that

failed was damned as a mutiny. So it had always been in Western history. But the men of the enlightenment demanded consideration for the power of the mind over the brute force of authority. The founders of the United States government, steeped in the new tradition, were the prime movers of a successful mutiny, a revolution. They were dedicated to the protection of human rights and the promotion of human happiness. The kind of society they sought to establish was committed to change, to progress, even of a revolutionary character, but it was also committed to the advancement of human well-being. Were the two forever irreconcilable? No! was the enlightenment's answer. Human progress can be achieved peacefully, if human reason is given full freedom to operate. Social institutions must be so organized as to encourage and guarantee that freedom.

The American government from its inception provided for what has very appropriately been called the "institutionalization of revolution." The Constitution recognizes the inevitability of change and provides for the orderly, nonviolent consummation of basic reorganization, indeed reconstitution of American institutions. Recognizing, as Jefferson had noted, that one of man's natural rights was the right to revolt against oppressive authority, the founders attempted to prevent such revolt from resulting in war and chaos. The fifth article of the Constitution, which outlines the procedures whereby the document may be amended, is the guarantee to the people that they shall have the last word, that with them rests the ultimate authority. But it charges the people with the responsibility for modifying basic institutions through *peaceful* means, through the respect of the rights and the dignity of all persons. *Peaceful* change—the appeal to reason, to intelligence, a government by persuasion rather than coercion. This principle, novel and unique as it may have been at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, ('A constitutional mode of altering the Constitution is, perhaps, what has never been known among mankind before' So spoke James Iredell in the North Carolina ratification convention in July 1788) has surely become at once a foundation stone and a buttress to the democratic way.

Free Public Education

What assurance is there that human reason is equal to the charge here laid upon it? The answer would seem to be, perhaps, that there is no incontestable assurance but that human reason is, to use Lincoln's words, 'the last best hope of earth'. Can a government which is based upon the assumption that human *intelligence is capable of ordering human affairs* neglect any measures which might increase the capacities and potentialities of that intelligence? The answer, it seems clear, is an unequivocal no.

"If a nation expects to be ignorant and free in a state of civilization," wrote Jefferson, 'it expects what never was and what never will be.' The entire history of the American people has demonstrated the unflinching national belief in the essentiality to democracy of education. Public education has been sponsored and maintained on the most extensive scale known to man. Private and parochial schools have been protected, occasionally subsidized, by a government expressing the popular conviction that education must be encouraged.

The present status of American public education has not been achieved without a struggle. But two fundamental conditions for education in the United States seem to have been conclusively established, conditions essential to education in and for democracy. Briefly stated these two essentials are: (1) there should be a publicly supported, publicly controlled system of schools, *not* under the authority of any private or special segment of society. This does not mean that nonpublic schools are incompatible with this ideal. On the contrary, inevitable corollary to the principles of cultural pluralism and freedom of expression is the right to establish schools for the effective representation of different points of view. But democracy also requires schools beyond the control of any fractional group or minority interest. (2) These public schools should be freely available. Free public education means education which is conducted by the public for its own service and must not be denied to anyone on account of its cost. Supported by general taxation, freed from the necessity of tuition charges, education is truly public when it is available to all, regardless of wealth, social position, geographical location, race,

or other conditions. It is all too clear that subscription to the principle of free public education has not guaranteed equal educational opportunity. But with an educational program restricted to those who could afford to pay for it, democracy's obligations would be impossible of fulfillment. If integral to democracy are such elements as respect for human dignity and individual welfare, freedom of expression, and the reliance upon human intelligence, surely essential to their realization is a free public educational system.

Social Mobility

All the foregoing may well be said to come together and to contribute to the implementation of still another essential element. The frontier conditions immediately began to weaken the hold of the class structure of society typical of European cultures. In the face of the boundless opportunities which awaited the diligent or the ambitious, the Old World criteria of birth, lineage, or previous social position steadily lost their influence. To be sure, on these shores as in Europe, a social structure was visible almost from the start. But (and it is a large and highly significant but') there was not then nor is there now anything inherent in the system operating to rigidify, to establish enduring social stratification. Of course, the United States today can show plenty of examples of social disparity and class stratification, with wealth, property, political or economic influence, and occasionally talent or professional position serving as the criteria in place of blood and noble connections. These social levels are obvious and altogether real. Nevertheless, the collection of democratic principles rejects any suggestion that these levels become permanent and immutable. Freedom demands for everyone the opportunity to advance as far as his talents will permit. The crux of the matter here lies with the word "enduring." American democracy, as is inevitable for any culture, must live with and in a social framework. American democracy insists that the framework shall not become a strait jacket, a mold, a hierarchy which negates democracy. This too seems essential to the democratic way of life.

Two statements from the opening lines of this chapter require reiteration. That this recital of principles represents the ideal rather than the reality is, or should be, obvious to everyone. For each of the twelve essential ingredients, the gap between the actual and the ideal is extremely wide, indeed, there is sharp difference of opinion as to whether for some of them the gap is wider or narrower than it was in Washington's day. For each, a long list of examples could be presented to show how far we are from complete realization of the faith we preach and hold dear. Again we address those who, scoffingly or cynically, denounce the principles as meaningless. To this denunciation we cannot subscribe, as motive forces in our society (an international society now) these principles, these ideals are surely more powerful than ever. But we have far to go.

A reminder is entered, too, that these twelve essentials should not, in deed cannot, be considered independently. None of them operate in a vacuum, all must be viewed and analyzed in their relations to and their effects upon the others. That which we call American democracy is not merely a sort of sum of items added together. It is rather more like the basic themes of a great symphony, whose harmonies depend upon orchestration and whose beauties are the product of reverent and dedicated cooperation.

Finally, a word about the relation of all this to American education. It would be possible to present, following each of the twelve principles, illustrations without end of the role of the schools in making democracy work. As the real is farther from the ideal, so then is the job of the schools more clearly demonstrable and more vital. Surely, more than any other social institution, the schools of America, both public and private, have the obligation and the high privilege of striving to meet this challenge. As we examine philosophies of education, curricula, teaching methods, administrative procedures, and some of the countless cultural influences which impinge upon the work of the schools, it behooves us to consider them all in the light of the purposes, the ideals, the essential morality of democracy. There can be no more crucial call to Americans of the mid twentieth century than this.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

BASIC QUESTION What are the abiding principles of American democracy? What are the "essential ingredients," the ideals whose removal or abrogation would make of American democracy something else—either non-American or nondemocratic?

- 1 Can you conceive of a democracy with substantially different ideals from those we hold? In other words, is it possible for a society to strive toward somewhat different goals (under, of course, different environmental conditions) and yet remain a democracy?
- 2 Is there any priority of significance or importance here? Are some of these essential ingredients more essential than others? If, conceivably, you were forced to abandon all but one, which one do you think you would be most likely to cherish? Why?
- 3 What is the responsibility of a teacher who finds that his school is failing to support and promote one or more of these ideals because of the pressure of the adult community surrounding the school?
- 4 What important changes or modifications in American ideals has our history produced?
- 5 How far would you be willing to go in assigning to the schools of your community responsibility for promoting these ideals? What social problems might be foreseen?
- 6 What would you cite as the most significant or impressive illustrations of the principle of "institutionalization of revolution"? What other changes of this character do you believe are currently in the making?

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The United States and World Leadership

FOR AMERICANS the facts of life in mid-century are anything but pleasant; they are stark, brutal, and frightening. But they are also challenging. The context of world conditions confronts the American people, and their schools, with a challenge of larger dimensions and more profound significance than at any time in their history.

As James Conant, when President of Harvard, so aptly said, we live today in a "divided world," a world of two opposing systems of ideas, two primary concentrations of power. One of these, the communist camp, is committed to—or at least expects, anticipates, and operates to hasten—the destruction of the other, the democratic order. Approximately 800 million people can with some confidence be said to be under the domination of the communist or Soviet regime, while possibly as many as 500 million can be listed as belonging to the democratic side. Another 700 million or more of the world's people are, at least nominally, not connected or committed to either protagonist, or are attempting to maintain a measure of neutrality.

The United States Versus the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Two great nations stand as the leaders of these two basic conflicting segments of the world, the U S A and the U S S R. Each of these

nations represents a way of life almost totally antagonistic to that defended and promoted by the other. Consider, for example, in the light of our previous discussion of the abiding principles of American democracy, the following ten central features of the communist Soviet philosophy as it actually operates

Absence of religious liberty

Rigid and complete censorship of press and assembly

State supremacy over the rights and dignity of the individual

Political dictation in science, literature, and the arts

Emphasis upon conquest by means of revolution and subterfuge

Legitimacy of human slavery on an unprecedented scale

Disavowal of social class but creation of distinct and ever more divergent social *castes*

Education completely dominated by one political party

Elimination of any minority

Enthronement of a political elite

When there is added to this listing the underlying Marxist principle that history points to the inevitable death of democratic capitalism, it becomes clear that the two systems are irrevocably in opposition.

The fundamental conflict is accentuated when we note that the leading democratic nation is the most productive and powerful economic unit ever developed by man, while the U S S R is potentially at least equally rich in natural resources and is vastly stronger in manpower. The data reviewed in Chapter 2 testify to the material and economic strength and the still unrealized potential, which are the sources of American power. It is important to see this in relation to a Soviet economic system which, while far less productive than the American, is nevertheless dedicated, in Lenin's words, to overtake and surpass the economy of the United States in the shortest possible time. The records of Soviet production are startling and inescapable evidence that the differential is not necessarily destined to remain unchanged. On the contrary, the Soviet economy is, in its own way, dynamic and expanding. The unprecedented and prodigiously successful military efforts of these two powers in World War II were themselves examples of their tremendous economic capacities. It is

clear that the foremost economic units in man's history confront each other

The United Nations Organization

Both these nations, following upon their alliance in World War II to defeat totalitarian fascism, were parties to the establishment and organization of machinery for the regulation of international behavior. This, the United Nations organization, is the most elaborate and far reaching instrument ever to be applied by man to the solution or prevention of international problems. Essentially, the United Nations consists of two major bodies, their efforts aided and amplified by a number of special commissions, and departments. The first of these bodies is the General Assembly. This is a legislature representative of all the member nations and in which all have equal status, it is the deliberative and policy making organ of the United Nations. Acting in an executive capacity is the Security Council, in effect a committee of the General Assembly. The Security Council, composed of five permanent members (Great Britain, France, Nationalist China, U. S. S. R., U. S. A.) and representatives elected by the General Assembly, was intended to serve as the spearhead of United Nations action. This function has been seriously restricted by the institution of a veto power in the hands of the five permanent members. Used effectively and often by the Soviet Union, the veto has, since the inception of the United Nations, operated to prevent the transaction of much important international business, notably the proposals of the democratic bloc for the control of atomic energy. However, in the absence of the Soviet delegate, the Security Council took positive and drastic action in meeting the problem posed by the invasion of South Korea in June 1950. The United Nations has become, at one and the same time, a central battleground for the Soviet-communist and democratic forces and the institution which represents the hopes of hundreds of millions for an effective approach to the problem of international peace.

Any discussion, however brief, of the United Nations and the part the United States must play in its functioning should be sufficient to

demonstrate conclusively just how dead is the possibility of isolationism in America. Granted that some strongholds of consequence of isolationist sentiment still exist in the United States, it is nevertheless undeniably true that the United States could not, even if it so willed, withdraw from the rest of the world and attempt to live alone. However inviting such a prospect may sound, it is pure wishful thinking. The United States stands today as the leader of the democratic forces of the world. Unwillingly and certainly unpreparedly—spiritually, intellectually, or physically—the United States has had no choice but to take on the mantle of champion of democracy. Confronted by a power, expansionist in the extreme, which is dedicated to the obliteration of the abiding principles which the United States honors and reveres, how could it be otherwise?

The Choices Facing the American People

Following World War II, the United States was faced with unsought for and unprecedented responsibilities. That they were not sought after is demonstrated by America's traditional antipathy toward or wariness of foreign involvement. That they were unprecedented, in this age of atomic energy, of faster than sound air transportation, and of a two-power world, is obvious. Drastic reorientation of traditional foreign, military, and domestic policy suddenly became inevitable. Of what should this new policy consist? Essentially, the people of the United States were faced with four choices, four alternative patterns of policy in their dealings with the rest of the world and in the shaping of affairs at home.

Appeasement. The first of these possibilities was the policy commonly labeled "appeasement" or concession. On the grounds that the objectives and ideals of the communist order hold a degree of legitimacy, some argued that American policy should be designed to placate the opposition, to grant at least a significant measure of that which the opposition demanded. This approach, it was held, would serve two purposes: (1) it would constitute a display of willingness to concede on the part of the democracies which would in turn (2) minimize if not eliminate the sources of friction, hence the po-

tential causes of war between the two powers. Recognizing what they conceived to be an irresistible expansionism by which the communist system is moved, some concluded that the only hope for world peace and concord lay in a democratic program of bowing to the inevitable

Compromise A second alternative was close kin to the first—the policy of compromise. We must, it was argued, find a *modus vivendi*, a pattern for coexistence on this planet, so that both blocs can live, if not in harmony and brotherhood at least in peace and with some degree of security. The two systems, it was held, must reach some common ground on matters of territorial expansion and control of trade and markets, of the patterns for diplomatic relations and the like. Without such minimal agreement both sides are doomed. It was conceded, by those of this mind, that for even this degree of accord to be realized compromise was essential, but here on *both* sides. The democracies and the United States in particular, should take the lead in endeavoring to discover the areas of possible agreement and in making clear our intention to meet the Russians halfway. This position asked for a spirit of tolerance and for a willingness to see the other fellow's point of view. World peace and harmony, in short, were felt to lie only in the discovery of a working compromise, and it was up to the United States to show the way.

Containment. A third approach saw no possibility of compromise and felt that concessions would serve only to weaken the conceding side. Those of this view held that American and democratic policy should be based upon active resistance to communism wherever it might appear. Such a policy involved a definite commitment by the democracies to defend, with arms if necessary, the peoples within their sphere and required the United States as leader of the democratic bloc, to shoulder the chief responsibility for that defense. This, in turn, necessitated a clear decision and an unequivocal pronouncement as to the extent of this responsibility. In sum, this policy called upon the United States and its allies to draw a line on the map saying to the communist enemy: *this far and no farther. This represents the boundary between your world and ours—cross it at your peril!* Only thus, many were convinced, could the democratic peoples have any assurance of immunity from communist expansionism.

Making Democracy Work. A fourth policy pattern went even beyond this. It rejected concession or compromise as ineffectual and found military preparedness in itself insufficient. This approach demanded aggressive democratic action to advance democracy, not merely to restrain communism but to reduce and eventually destroy its influence. The adherents of this position insisted that, both in foreign affairs and at home, American policy must operate to demonstrate democracy's potential for human good. In domestic matters, the United States must demonstrate decisively the superiority of a democratic solution to such problems as decent housing, economic depression or inflation, and equality of educational opportunity. Similarly, the United States was called upon to conduct its foreign relations in such fashion as to make the standards and principles of democracy meaningful elsewhere and, more tangibly, to help to create the conditions under which democratic principles can flourish. Such efforts as the famous Voice of America broadcasts of the United States Department of State, the Crusades for Freedom which enlisted the support of hundreds of millions in a demonstration of democratic unity, or the programs to offer American assistance in the economic and social rehabilitation of depressed areas over the world—these are but the more spectacular examples of the form this fourth alternative has taken.

The Road Ahead By the concluding months of the first Eisenhower administration, American international policy had become clear in a number of fundamental respects. Despite the fact that serious disagreements prevailed in some important areas of foreign policy and that, at least in the eyes of some critics, vagueness marked other acts or positions taken by the government, there can be little doubt that the nation had conclusively abandoned the first approach. The example

racies had, by 1956, decided not to rely very heavily upon policies of compromise with the Soviet Union. Consideration of the divergence in basic values and ideals is between the two blocs seemed to leave small basis upon which to begin to build effective compromise. Post war dealings with the communist opposition gave little evidence that the dependability essential for mutual trust was present. Various diplomatic and military agreements with the communist nations had been dishonored as members of the Soviet bloc continued their efforts to expand. There was apparent little reason to place much faith in securing peace and stability by such a route.

Unquestionably, the United States had accepted the responsibilities and demands implicit in a policy of containment. The Korean action on the part of the American government was, perhaps, the most decisive indication of this resolve. This was followed by other evidences that, as a member of the United Nations, the United States had committed itself to a program of withstanding further communist expansion.

Most important, however, was the adoption by the United States of a policy of attempting to demonstrate the validity, the health, and the humanity of the democratic way. The national attitude increasingly came to reflect the recognition that we are not here confronted by military power alone. If we were, the task would be infinitely simpler. Our opposition consists of ideas, a philosophy of life, a genuine counterreligion. It mounts a great military force, but the menace is primarily spiritual and political, not military. Can we expect to resist or defeat a philosophy on the battlefield? Again, history seems clearly to have demonstrated the futility, the danger of holding to any such belief. The Christian religion and American democracy have thrived on battles, it is naive to assume that communism might fare differently. Thus, the ever more insistent call, not for the abandonment of military resistance, which is deemed an inescapable obligation, but for the expansion of the democratic effort to include counterattack on the spiritual and ideological levels as well.

Recent developments have made it abundantly clear that, in the final analysis, it must be this last approach which will eventually claim the victory. The changes in the personnel and patterns of Soviet

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government and foreign relations since the death of Stalin have been marked. Some believe that these developments signify a fundamental reorientation in Russian attitudes which will profoundly advance international harmony. Others warn that these are all surface manifestations, that basic Soviet objectives have not changed, and that the chief symbols of human freedom are still altogether absent from the Russian scene. The rising nationalism among peoples all around the globe—in the Arabic, African, and Asian areas—indicate that the virus of independence is spreading with lightning rapidity. These, for the most part the uncommitted or “neutral” nations, find it advantageous to play upon the great U S A–U S S R rivalry in the interest of advancing their particular causes. Especially acute have been the episodes, in such parts of the world as Egypt, Cyprus, Algeria, and Indochina, involving the efforts of colonies to achieve self government. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the 1950s have been filled with international bargainings and attempts to woo nations on the part of the two great power blocs. These strivings dramatize the fundamental shift that has taken place in international affairs, the shift from military and overt political warfare to economic and ideological competition for the allegiance of the uncommitted nations of the world. It is abundantly clear that the struggle between the free world and its opponents will in the future be conducted primarily along these nonmilitary lines—and the American people must be prepared to battle on this new plane.

This position was admirably set forth by the editors of the *Manchester Guardian* (British) in a discussion of Western policy with respect to Asia. The significance of the statement is worldwide, however, and its implications for American education are profound.

For the Western countries, [Communism] is a threat, but the nature of the threat is not always precisely understood. The danger is not chiefly a military one. The threat is political and cultural. If the great masses of population in Asia were swallowed up by communism, it would be a reverse for mankind. The Western countries should not wish to keep Asia free from communism on the grounds that a Communist Asia would be a danger to the security of the West, but because communism triumphant would be a catastrophe for Asia itself, and an injury to the

human spirit If the Western countries are to counteract the Russian propaganda they must rise to the level of the issues which are at stake They cannot contain Russia with a crude or superficial counter propaganda *The West would have lost its ability to contribute to the civilisation of the world if it could not recommend persuasively its own essential conceptions*

What is really at stake in this war? Before all else it is freedom and the requirement that Governments should not act arbitrarily but according to law Where the West can fortify Free Asia [and we should list Africa and South America as well] in its liberal instincts is by demonstrating persuasively that ordered liberty is more likely to produce rapid social progress than is authoritarianism¹

Education and the Facts of Life

In such a context, what is the role of the American school? A major requirement of any such book as this in these times is to attempt to clarify and to implement the responsibilities of American education for the enhancement and advancement of democracy At this point it seems appropriate to suggest certain general obligations which the current world position of the United States, so briefly and roughly described here, makes mandatory for the schools and teachers of America

First, it seems clear, American education has a responsibility for building in our youth an awareness of the realities of the world scene Education would be inadequate which failed to bring to students an understanding of the present international position of the United States and a sense of the history which led to that position Equally negligent, nay, harmful, would be an education which ignored or neglected contact with the present status and cultural histories of other peoples, especially the major allies and the chief communist opponents Our schools would be inadequate if they failed to afford some insight into the economic factors which condition life on this earth and which underlie so much of the world's current torment

In the second place, American schools have a duty to bring students face to face with the great, the significant, the challenging ideas and

¹ *Manchester Guardian Weekly* January 12 1956 Italics mine

ideals of men—not just the concepts and precepts which form the basis of the democratic ethic, but the basic postulates and principles of communism and other antagonistic philosophies as well. No sound understanding of the threat to democracy is to be obtained by a refusal to examine and to analyze the substance of that threat. The moving political ideologies of our time must receive a high place in any program of studies designed to develop genuinely educated citizens. Nor should this ideological study be political only. Inextricably interwoven into the fabric of any political orientation, indeed anterior to it, is some philosophy for life itself, compounded of religious, moral and ethical, economic, and esthetic values and standards. In our contemporary concern for political literacy, we must not “short change” our youth and build without solid foundations. Here is a prodigious and a crucial task for American education.

Third, an American educational endeavor would be inadequate if it failed to attempt to inspire a sense of responsibility for international well being. At no time in history has it been so clear that human welfare somewhere must be the concern of humanity everywhere. An understanding of international affairs and the place of the United States in the contemporary world would be pointless if not stagnant were it not accompanied by an attitude of deep concern for human welfare generally. There are those who argue that to teach international responsibility and support of an international organization (as the United Nations) is to teach un-Americanism, to undermine national patriotism, in substance to weaken the United States. The facts of the world scene today prove just the reverse, that American strength and well being are dependent upon international peace and harmony, that an attempt to divorce the part from the whole is not only doomed to fail but is dangerous in the extreme. American education must serve as one of the chief instruments in the effort of the United States to develop and effectuate an international leadership that is democratic and humanitarian. At this juncture it has no choice!

Fourth and last, the American school and teacher are obligated, not only by their American allegiance but also by their commitment to democracy, to instill in American youth a deep sense of dedication to the cause of human freedom and human rights everywhere. This

responsibility does not, cannot, end with the study of the documents, legal decisions, or statutes, in the United States or elsewhere, which protect or guarantee human liberty. The underlying relationship of the presence or absence of these freedoms and the presence or absence of democracy must come crystal clear to every American school child. Then the reasons for the importance of the role of the United States in the contemporary world become self-evident, and the significant contribution of the individual American citizen becomes obvious. American youth must learn and know of the grave delinquencies which color the application of democracy in his own country and must understand his personal responsibility to work for their elimination. He must become aware of the meaning of those deficiencies to peoples in other lands who have accepted or may be led to accept American democratic leadership. And, finally, he must himself be inspired to assume responsibility for the character of the liberties enjoyed by peoples in all nations. As a citizen in the country which has assumed the place of leadership among the nations dedicated to democracy as the only truly humane way of life, he cannot escape this obligation. It is the job of the American school to help prepare him to assume it.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

BASIC QUESTION To what extent, and specifically with respect to what areas or issues, does world peace depend upon the relinquishment of national sovereignty? Do you believe that the United States should grant to the United Nations final responsibility in certain matters? What are the implications of your position for the conduct of education in the United States?

- 1 To what extent are Americans justified in assuming that, because they are democratic, our institutional patterns (in government, economics, and education, for example) are appropriate for the other peoples of the earth? To what extent, in our administration of occupied countries, is it sound to introduce education on the American plan?
- 2 How can the schools most effectively help to develop a "world view," an international sympathy, a genuine feeling of interested (not passive) tolerance, and a real world brotherliness? What kinds of courses, meth-

- ods, approaches, devices, etc., seem to you appropriate and likely to be effective?
- 3 Can the schools effectively do the job indicated in Question 2 without weakening their effort to strengthen and promote the abiding principles of American democracy? Is there in any sense a conflict here? If so, how is it to be resolved?
 - 4 What is the role of education in "preparedness," i.e., to what extent should (or must) American schools shoulder the responsibility of preparation for war? Does this contradict or tend to nullify any efforts that might be made to the ends indicated in Question 2?
 - 5 Must the United States initiate and maintain a program of universal military training? What are the educational implications of such a policy?
 - 6 Do you consider it wise for the United States to spend billions of dollars for foreign industrial, agricultural, and cultural rehabilitation as proposed in President Truman's famous 'Point Four' program? What are some of the implications of such a policy for life in the United States?

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PART *two*

CONFLICTING
PURPOSES FOR
AMERICAN EDUCATION

PART *two*

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The study of anthropology reveals that most societies have organized some machinery or procedures for educating their young, deliberately designed to produce certain desired results or to prevent other undesirable outcomes. Patterns of behavior, emotional attitudes, religious traditions, conceptions of good and evil—these and hundreds of other facets of living have been deemed sufficiently important that their development could not be left to chance. It follows that the entire character of an educational institution is determined by the nature of the goals which are deemed appropriate not only for the "school" but also for the society itself.

The American educational scene is featured by a number of variant and competing conceptions of the purpose of education, of the kind of life for which the schools should prepare. The greater the degree of democracy operative in a given culture, the more surely there will emerge different points of view as to the function of its social institutions. American education is the battleground for "intellectualists," "humanists," "experimentalists," "naturalists," "reconstructionists," "perennialists," "scholastics," and many more. Each advocates a somewhat unique approach to and program for education, each sees the responsibility of education as concerned with more or less different purposes. Each views the ultimate objectives of American society, hence of education in the United States, from different perspectives.

It is with the study of this all important area that the philosophy of education is concerned. This book cannot do full justice to any of these conceptions, but it does seem essential to note the *basic* philosophic cleavage which characterizes American education today. For purposes of introductory analysis and discussion, this is to be considered under the headings of "traditionalism" and "experimentalism," labels which fairly accurately reflect the pervasive underlying current disagreements regarding the place and function of education in the United States. Chapter 7 attempts to place the philosophical controversy in the context of the requirements of democratic citizenship and to underscore certain fundamental educational problems which must be solved if the democracy is to flourish.

CHAPTER 5

Traditionalist Approaches to Education

FOR MANY THE WORD "traditional" connotes something undesirable or impractical because, by implication, that which is traditional is held to be old fashioned, outmoded, ill suited to contemporary demands. Thus, in many circles, traditional art, or music, or architecture is scorned, or at least dismissed lightly, as being out of tune with the times, as perpetuating old and outdated ideas or forms. So, too, with aspects of human behavior: he who clings to patterns of conduct or social values which held sway in an earlier period is frequently ridiculed or denounced by those who consider themselves more up to date. In education, the label traditionalist often automatically summons up visions of ancient practices, medieval curricula, or old world schoolmasters which he who claims to be modern cannot accept.

"Traditional" is not so conceived here. No invidious connotation is intended or implied in this discussion, rather, we are attempting to describe what we call the traditionalist point of view in education. He who is contemporary in the best sense will surely admit that to dismiss something merely because it is traditional, i.e., derived from an earlier time and cultural climate, is altogether indefensible. The term is applied, therefore, to suggest those educational philosophies which, over a relatively long period of time, have been honored and respected by a significant portion of Western civilization. As such,

they represent segments of educational thought which cannot be overlooked or minimized or uncritically cast aside

No doubt everyone engaged in the work of education or seriously conscious of its relevance to human life represents a somewhat unique and individualized educational philosophy. Generalization in such an area proceeds at considerable risk of doing injustice to many. But, just as we have noted the presence of two quite clear and definable educational orientations in the contemporary United States, traditionalism and experimentalism, so too it seems valid to suggest that within the traditionalist fold three reasonably distinct approaches are pre-eminent. These are here labeled the Christian, the classical, and the essentialist traditions.

The Christian Tradition as the Basis for Education

While in point of original conception probably not so old as the classical tradition, the Christian tradition can point to the longest continuous history of any Western approach to education. Emerging out of the pre-Christian heritage of Greco-Roman civilization, then codified by the early church fathers, this tradition has been sponsored and promoted by the Roman Catholic Church for 1500 years and by Protestant denominations for over 400 years. The Christian tradition is indeed backed by the prestige of history in a manner unequaled by any of the other approaches which confront modern Americans.

It must be noted at the outset that the influence of the Christian tradition takes two basic forms in the United States today. One of these is seen in the widespread concern that an increased emphasis be placed upon religion in the conduct of public education. This question, one of the most critical of those which presently confront American educators, will be considered in some detail in a later chapter. Suffice it to say here that, while this concern is a sizable, perhaps growing feature of contemporary American education, it does not represent a crystallized, integrated educational philosophy. On the contrary, both traditionalists and experimentalists can be found laboring for the inclusion of more religious instruction in the public

schools. This is not the contemporary phenomenon which most conclusively illustrates and exemplifies the Christian tradition at work in American education. For that we must turn to the educational philosophy and practice which govern the conduct of parochial or denominational education, the schools supported and maintained by the various churches. Most important, most significant, and most powerful of these is the system of education administered by the Roman Catholic Church.

The educational philosophy of the Roman Catholic Church is the product of many minds and many centuries. It is usually referred to as scholasticism, so named after the medieval church "schoolmen." Scholasticism as a philosophy encompassed the system of theological and philosophical teaching upheld by the Christian church of the Middle Ages. As such, it represented the dominant medieval approach to life and education. This system was challenged in the thirteenth century by the appearance of many "new" ideas and much "new" knowledge ("new" because rediscovered after centuries of oblivion) from Aristotle and the ancient world. St. Thomas Aquinas, in his *Summa Theologica* synthesized the new with the scholastic old, reconciling the two in conformity with church doctrine. The old name was retained, however. The educational work of the church was systematized and extended, particularly under the driving force of Ignatius Loyola and the Society of Jesus, which he founded at the time of the Protestant Reformation. It is essentially a modern counterpart of this composite that stands now as the Roman Catholic approach to education.

The aim or chief objective of Catholic education is most succinctly and clearly stated in the encyclical of Pope Pius XI (1929) on *Christian Education of Youth*. The aim "to form the true Christian the true and finished man of character." The true Christian, however, is conceived in universal rather than merely earthly terms. He is conceived as destined for ultimate salvation, "The sublime end for which he was created," and therefore the real and basic purpose of education is to prepare man for that last and ultimate state. It is noteworthy that this is not regarded solely as an otherworldly objective, hence impractical from the standpoint of this world's needs. On the contrary,

it is held that he who is educated in such a context must logically and of necessity be well prepared for the duties and functions of this life as well. In other words, good citizenship on this earth is an inescapable corollary of an educational program governed by a conception of the requirements of the life hereafter. This approach insists that he who is schooled under such a philosophy approximates more closely than in any other way true freedom—the intellectual, moral, and spiritual freedom which comes from the grace of God.

The Roman Catholic Church holds that it, and it alone, received from God through Jesus Christ the two essentials for any educational program. In the first place, as the only divinely instituted church, Roman Catholicism possesses truth. As the agency established by St. Peter in the name of Jesus Christ and as the divinely appointed guardian and interpreter of the 'deposit of truth' which is the life and teachings of Christ, the Roman Catholic Church maintains that it is the only institution which holds the materials for teaching. And in the second place, by virtue of Christ's commandment 'Going therefore teach ye all nations', the Church received not only the license but the mandate to teach. Possessed of the whole of moral truth and the divine injunction to engage in education, the Church's mission is clear and inescapable.

How does this Christian tradition express itself in the actual operation of schools? What are the characteristics of curriculum and methodology which have been developed by the Roman Catholic Church for the fulfillment of this mission?

First and foremost in any consideration of the Catholic curriculum is the underlying commitment that, to quote Pope Pius XI again, there can be no ideally perfect education which is not Christian education." This means both that all education must be infused with or governed by Christian (that is, Roman Catholic) principles and that there is no area which, potentially at least, is not susceptible to this influence. This must logically follow from the premises described above, for if the Church holds the truth, it cannot condone activities or practices which contradict that truth. To do so would run counter to the divine mandate. A fundamental corollary of the premise that all education must be Christian is that there is no aspect of human

development which is outside the scope of the Church's concern. The Church's responsibility is to educate "man whole and entire"—spiritually, morally, intellectually, esthetically, vocationally, physically. No phase of his personality is beyond the bounds of Christian influence, hence none can be neglected. In sum, this means that the entire school curriculum, regardless of field, must be attuned to the primary obligation of the Church to promote and reinforce faith and morals. All activities, in class or out, must be conducted in accord with Christian principles.

From this it is clear that the construction of a Catholic curriculum will not necessarily appear to be radically different from the curricula in other types of schools. Major differences will appear rather in curricular emphasis and in the spirit of the methodology employed. Again, the Church's concern for the whole man leaves no room for the omission of any important area of study. However, the primary stress is laid upon those areas of instruction most closely related to the essentially spiritual and moral aspects of life. Thus, in first position and central to the Catholic course of study at any level are offerings in religion, ethics, and ecclesiastical history. Only slightly less important are courses in the classical languages, especially Latin, to facilitate the readings of Church materials in the original. Generally speaking, these form the basic requirements for Catholic secondary and higher education, and the religious emphasis permeates the entire elementary school course as well. Second in order of significance in the Catholic curriculum are the liberal arts, the Catholic application of the medieval humanistic studies. Chief here are such subjects as philosophy, logic, rhetoric, secular history, the fine arts, and literature. A third level has to do with those areas of study which pertain to one's professional and vocational preparation, and to the obligations of civil citizenship. It is at this point that the Church, in the United States at least, admits the validity of civil responsibility for certain aspects of education, notably in the realms of American history, government, and frequently military training. Fourth, the Catholic curriculum pays heed to the creative and recreational needs of man and, though it must fall last on any such listing as this, this area is by no means a poor last. The Catholic emphasis on the well rounded man holds that

the development of the physical and esthetic elements of human personality are essential to the full flowering of his spiritual and intellectual qualities

But it is in methodology—the actual conduct of the educational program—that the spirit of Catholic education and its traditionalism are most apparent. Basic to Catholic educational practice is the conviction described earlier, that the Church is the holder and purveyor of divinely granted truth and that the possession of this truth carries with it the quality of infallibility. Thus, states the encyclical, “in this proper object of her mission, that is in faith and morals, God Himself has made the Church sharer in the Divine Magisterium and, by a special privilege, granted her immunity from error.” The Church alone possesses what she has had immediately from God and can never lose, the whole of moral truth. Faith and revelation, the avenues by which truth reaches man, necessarily must take precedence over the operations of human reason and science. Otherwise, if science were to contradict faith, two opposed truths would be attributed to God. Manifestly, this is impossible since God could not conceivably contradict himself. On the contrary, reason exists (and was given to man by God) to support and strengthen faith. Faith, on the other hand, is God’s means of freeing reason and protecting it from error.

Hence there is but one body of truth and but one system of education adequately equipped to deal with it. It may on occasion be necessary to examine and review “false doctrine” but, states the Pope, only in order to refute it and establish truth more securely than before. That this injunction must apply in all areas—the social and political as well as the strictly spiritual—is apparent from the basic logic of Catholic educational thought. So, concerning this responsibility in terms of the broader definition of education, the Church is concerned with nonschool educational forces as well and has the obligation to review books, motion pictures, and broadcasting in order, as the encyclical states, to point out to parents and educators “the dangers to morals and religion that are often cunningly disguised in books and theatrical representation.”

School organization, too, is governed by the Catholic interpretations

of the Christian tradition. Condemning in the strongest terms "pedagogic naturalism," the Church maintains that no education is truly Christian which proceeds on the basis of a denial of the conception of original sin. No school thusly based and thusly oriented is in any way prepared or equipped to assist in the achievement of salvation. Coeducation (by which the Church means identical curricula for boys and girls) is incompatible with this educational philosophy, for it is based upon a rejection of the divine intention for proper relations of the sexes, and upon a naturalistic denial of the idea of original sin. Similarly, the school which is neutral with regard to religion, the school which either treats all faiths equally or attempts to remove religion from its purview, is condemned. Obviously, such a school cannot begin to do justice to the primary obligation of Catholic education which requires that Christian ideals permeate the entire school experience.

In summary, then, what is the Catholic Christian tradition in education? As practiced by the Roman Catholic Church, the Christian tradition has produced an educational system governed by the following principles:

- 1 The chief end of man, hence of his education, is preparation for life after death, for salvation.
- 2 The Roman Catholic Church, as the agent of God on earth and the medium through which His word—i.e., truth—is made available to man, is the only institution surely and fully equipped to administer an education having such an objective.
- 3 Only education which is conducted in the light of and in conformity with the Church's interpretation of God's word is truly Christian education.
- 4 The basic elements, the core of the subject matter, are contained in the word of God and the interpretations of his earthly agency, the Roman Catholic Church.
- 5 The right of the Church to teach was established by the will of God through the injunctions to teach pronounced by Jesus Christ. This right is unassailable by any earthly power.
- 6 Conferred with the mandate to teach was the quality of infallibility. The Roman Catholic Church as the divinely instituted mechanism for human salvation, merely follows the word of God. To suggest

that this could conceivably involve untruth or error is to suggest the impossible, since God is its author

* * *

Of course, other denominations have established and maintained their own schools and colleges in the United States. Such institutions are equally genuine and in some instances even older parts of the American educational tradition. The preceding discussion is not intended to suggest that all education which is held to be "in the Christian tradition" is similar in form or spirit to the Catholic approach. Some denominations operate schools which appear, at least, to be almost identical with the patterns of Catholic education, while others very candidly insist that they represent an effective blending of Christian traditionalism and experimentalism. It would be profitable indeed to study carefully and closely the spirit and the procedures which govern the operation of parochial schools by such Protestant organizations as the various Lutheran synods, the Protestant Episcopal Church, or the Society of Friends. But the influence and power of these educational efforts are relatively small compared to the massive program of the Roman Catholic Church. The latter constitutes a major force in contemporary American life, and citizens and educators must become fully aware of its philosophy and of the implications of such a philosophy for political and educational affairs. We shall have occasion to refer again to the Catholic approach to education in later chapters when we consider certain of the primary educational questions which are conditioned and affected by Catholic educational policy.

The Classical Tradition as the Basis for Education

The history of the classical tradition in education parallels that of the Christian tradition in considerable measure. Both have their ultimate sources in the ancient world, the two were in effect combined during the first 1200 to 1400 years of the Christian era, and today much of the classical tradition is integral to the program of education maintained by many Christian churches. Indeed, at some points and in

many schools, it is fruitless to attempt to distinguish between these two approaches. This, perhaps, suggests a crucial qualification that must be underscored before any useful examination of the classical tradition can proceed. While it is probably accurate to state that there could be no education which is "more or less Catholic in the sense just described, it is altogether clear that followers of the classical tradition must be seen in just that light, as more or less classical. Classicists will vary markedly in the degree of their allegiance to the tradition, some orthodox in the extreme, others decidedly far from the mainstream of classicism. It is impossible to generalize about the classical tradition with anything like the assurance which the scholastic, Catholic philosophy permits. In the discussion which follows the reader should bear constantly in mind that this presentation is an attempt to describe what might be called a middle-of-the-road classicism and that subscription to this tradition will range from extreme rigidity to considerable flexibility.

It has already been suggested that this tradition has a long history. Let us note three primary stages in that history as indicative of the central theme of the classical approach. Historically, the concern of education governed by this tradition has been with what we are wont to call liberal education. The original conception of a *liberal* education, which developed in ancient Greece, was patterned in terms of the social and political requirements of the life of a free (Latin *liberalis*) citizen. A liberal education was that education deemed best suited to the Greek freeman as contrasted with the slave. The freeman's citizenship and its attendant civic and military responsibilities, and his *leisure* necessarily demanded a different sort of education than did the mundane, mercenary, usually material concerns of the noncitizen or slave. With Plato and Aristotle as its leading exponents, liberal education came to mean for the ancient (1) broad, inclusive, and general, rather than specialized education, (2) education directed at the development of well roundedness, the harmonious combination of the spiritual and mental with the physical aspects of man, and (3) education not concerned with, indeed divorced from, the allegedly mechanical, practical areas of vocational or professional training. It was essentially this conception of education which, after centuries

of subordination to the narrowly theological emphases of the medieval church, was rediscovered at the time of the Renaissance. The Crusades, increased commercial contacts with the Near East, and the spread of the Arabic world brought to western Europe much of ancient knowledge and philosophy which had been lost for hundreds of years. This rediscovery coincided with a deep urge on the part of many men, chiefly at first in northern Italy, to be free of the spiritual and political control of the Roman Catholic Church. One primary manifestation of this desire to achieve independence from the church was a concern for the human and natural as contrasted with the medieval theological emphasis upon the other worldly and the supernatural. It is not difficult to picture the avidity with which the twelfth- and thirteenth-century rebel seized upon the resurrected antiquities as both a new source of intellectual authority and concrete evidence of the excellence of *human* achievement. The Renaissance intellectual, dedicated to the fullest development of human nature and finding such beauty and perfection as the results of classical learning, elevated these classics to unchallengeable heights. On the assumption, therefore, that the classics represented man's best works, and out of the firm belief that the function of education was the fullest development of human nature, the classics became the bases for the curriculum. Humanism and the humanities, the studies best suited to promote the full flowering of human nature, were established. Of course, a major element in the rediscovered classics was the Aristotelian conception of a liberal education. This, too, became basic and Renaissance humanism, or classicism, took on the cultural, well rounded, aristocratic coloration of its Greek model.

From such origins the contemporary humanistic or classical approach to education can be traced. It is consistent, therefore, to find these elements—concern for the all round development of human nature, acceptance of the classics as exemplary of man's highest accomplishments, and an emphasis upon the development of moral and intellectual leadership—as the hallmarks of twentieth-century or neo-humanism in education. Once again we must note that, within this broad characterization, emphases will differ. Different interpretations of what are the "classics" will be championed. The extent of educa-

tion's responsibility for the total human personality is variously defined. The integration of the classical with the Christian is crucial for some, relatively inconsequential for others. The question of the appropriateness of a classical humanist education as a vehicle of education for all is widely and vigorously debated even by humanists.

Despite such differences however, there seems clearly to be a central theme in contemporary humanism with which most humanists can agree. As stated earlier, whether for all or for the few, a classical approach to education is considered the best way to develop the well rounded personality, an aim well stated by the Roman Catholic Church (though on a different basis) as the production of the true and finished man of character'. Further, the modern classicist insists that in no other way is intellectual freedom attainable, that "freedom of the mind" which is held to be the only true freedom. Premises such as these lead contemporary classicists, again with varying emphases to subscribe rather fundamentally to a conception of education composed of the following postulates:

- 1 The primary function of education is the development of the mind. Intellectual excellence is the chief good from which all other goods follow such as morality, the power of criticism and judgment, responsibility, conviction, and loyalty.

- 2 There are certain periods in human history which exemplify the human mind at its highest peak of achievement. These unequalled accomplishments are necessarily the models for human behavior, the standards against which human conduct must be assayed. Some humanists maintain that these attainments are not merely models for contemporary living, they represent absolute perfection in human endeavor and have become truths and sources of truth.

- 3 These heights of human history models or sources logically constitute the crux of the educational endeavor. These classics valid and appropriate in any age and under all conditions, are necessarily, nay inevitably, the only materials appropriate for a curriculum dedicated to the improvement of human personality and the development of human leadership.

- 4 This conception of education to be truly liberal must of necessity maintain a strict divorcement from the practical, mundane

considerations attendant upon vocational or professional preparation. The classical tradition, as interpreted for the modern world, contends that a truly liberal education is the best possible preparation for *any* occupation, and that concentration within the narrow confines of some vocational area is the opposite of humaneness and of well roundedness. In the Aristotelian sense classical education cannot entertain preoccupation with any concerns inappropriate to the fullest development of the mind. Among these, the classicist maintains, is professional or vocational training.

From the foregoing it is clear that the composition of the curriculum which is genuinely in the classical humanist tradition follows a fairly definite pattern. In the first rank among subject areas are the linguistic disciplines, the classical languages and the literature of antiquity (or, for some, those works in Western civilization which are "classics in any age"). He who would be truly and completely *humane* must be equipped to converse with the greatest humans, preferably not through an interpreter. In second position, in all probability, the classicist places philosophy (the study of human thought and speculation) and history (the record of human behavior). Complete humanity requires familiarity with one's antecedents, to be ignorant of one's past is to be always a child. Third are placed the sciences, natural and physical, by which man has come to know his earthly environment and to gain some insight into his place in the universe. For some humanists, chief of the sciences are those which were most highly respected in ancient times: astronomy and mathematics. Finally, in a somewhat precarious position, come the social sciences. Perhaps the greatest curricular divergencies among the classicists appear at this stage. Some insist that these so-called sciences are not entitled to any significant role in the education of the well rounded individual: they have neither classical nor scientific status. Others, defining humanism more broadly, find psychology, sociology, anthropology, and economics as latter-day contributions to the humanistic objective, though the ultimate values and standards by which these social sciences are assessed are still held to lie in the literary and philosophic disciplines of the classical tradition.

The educational method of humanism is largely implicit in the

conception of the role and content of education just described. As before, it is essential to note that differences in pedagogical procedure and technique will vary just as markedly as do the commitments to the basic assumptions of humanism. Indeed striking evidence that this "tradition" need not necessarily lead to a static conception of teaching is to be found in the writings of numerous eminent contemporary humanists, notably Jacques Barzun and Gilbert Highet. Nevertheless, it does seem appropriate to contend, in our attempt to delineate the ingredients of middle-of-the-road neo-classicism, that certain elements of pedagogical emphasis are generally advanced as central. Among these, it seems clear, are the following:

1. The classics, whether conceived as eternally or only as generally valid, must constitute the main thread of the educational endeavor. Sound procedure, therefore, is to *begin* with them, to use them as springboards, guide posts, and standards in the conduct of all, or most, of the school program. For example, to state it in its boldest and perhaps simplest form, some aspect of the civilization of ancient Greece is studied as intrinsically valuable regardless of the degree of its relevance to particular contemporary affairs, *rather than* using contemporary affairs as criteria for determining which aspects of Greek civilization to examine. Classics, simply because they are classics, are significant in all times and situations, as such, they must be basic to any process worthy to be called educational.

2. While the term "classic" is applied to master works in architecture, music, painting, and sculpture, the educational classicist is primarily concerned with the classic literary pronouncements of man. Necessarily, therefore, the success of any educational enterprise which revolves around such works is largely dependent upon linguistic facility. It follows that the methodology of a classical education requires extensive emphasis upon the linguistic disciplines: reading, writing, grammar, and oral expression. Teaching procedures must stress intensive practice and study in the techniques of writing, the forms of literary expression, the rules of correct verbal usage, and the like. Widely, though not universally, advocated as integral to this program of linguistic training is the study of classical and certain foreign languages: Latin, Greek, French, and German. It is contended

that true understanding and appreciation of the non English classics can be gained only through an ability to read such works in their original form, as the master intended that they be read. The controversy within the ranks of humanists at this point is concerned with the adequacy of translations and with finding the time necessary for the development of sufficient fluency in the languages.

3 We have seen that the humanist maintains that the primary responsibility of education is the training and development of the mind. Some classicists, notably Robert Hutchins, have gone so far as to cite this as the only function of education, thus earning the label "intellectualists" to denote their emphasis. If intellectual or mental development—as distinguished from social, physical, creative, esthetic, vocational, or recreational growth—is the central focus of education, it must follow that certain procedures are deemed more appropriate, more effective, than others. Humanistic or classical pedagogy holds that the nurturing of this intellectual development is most surely and efficiently achieved through "mental discipline." Various defined as the sharpening of the wits, the ability to remember and apply, a facility with words, or an ability to rationalize, "mental discipline" requires a particular kind of care and training for its full development. This requirement is met, in the last analysis, by emphasis and reliance upon extensive drill and practice, cultivation of the memory, and accurate reproduction of spoken or written text.

A mind so sharpened and so stored is held to be ready for any calling, for any test. It is not narrowly specialized, hence limited by the walls or boundaries of some inevitably partial academic province; it is trained and equipped for life! The mind can be turned in any direction. To use the psychologist's terms, such training can be transferred from Latin to statecraft and from algebra to socialized medicine. Thus, the pedagogy of humanism insists that its emphasis and its content best suit the student for all his prospective adult roles—citizen, parent, social leader, soldier, and workman.

4 This discussion of the general tone of a humanistic pedagogy might tend to convey the impression that content is of subordinate stature, and that the training of the mind and linguistic facility in the technical sense are all important. The humanist would respond

that nothing could be more distant from the truth. As he conceives this approach to educational method, it is just these emphases—on literature, languages, and mental keenness—which provide the only content of real worth. The student trained in these disciplines through the great works of man has, says the humanist, passed through the most positive and valuable subject matter experience possible. As a result, the student is left with a store of spiritual and cultural ideals, values, and standards obtainable in no other way. Stress, therefore, by the very nature of the material inevitably falls upon morals and standards of behavior, and the teacher who fails to use the classical subjects and disciplines as media for the examination and construction of such standards is derelict in the extreme.

In summary, always aware of the divergencies from any generalization which are present in the American educational scene, it would seem justifiable to characterize the classical or humanistic approach to education as tending toward the following:

- 1 Belief that the primary function of education is intellectual development or training
- 2 Conviction that much (for some the whole) of human truth is to be found in certain 'classical' statements and institutions, and that these earlier ideas or inventions should serve as guides or standards for contemporary life
- 3 Pre eminent concern for the development of verbal or linguistic facility as the only sure means to a productive understanding of the classics
- 4 Emphasis upon mental discipline
- 5 Conviction that such an educational orientation will produce the most practical kind of education that men so schooled are more surely equipped to perform creditably in any activity than those whose specialization has isolated them from their culture

Essentialism as the Basis for Education

There are surely those who will contend that what we here call essentialism is not a bonafide educational philosophy. Others will vigorously object to its inclusion under the heading of traditionalist

approaches to education. As will become clear, the former reservation is sound inasmuch as essentialism is not, nor does it pretend to be, an inclusive set of commitments to a particular interpretation of human life and Western civilization. However, essentialism is an apt label for a conception of the role of education which is advanced and supported by a large and vigorous body of contemporary Americans, and as such cannot be overlooked. To the contention that essentialism is inaccurately cited as a traditionalist approach, a demurrer must be entered. The definition of "traditional" here employed, viz., ideas and materials derived from earlier cultural experience, is peculiarly appropriate to the essentialist point of view.

Essentialism, with which the name of William C. Bagley is perhaps most closely associated, is primarily a curricular and pedagogical reaction to what has come to be called progressive education. A more detailed philosophical discussion of progressivism is the burden of the next chapter. In the late 1930's many were growing increasingly uneasy about certain aspects of the then current educational trends, convinced, as were scholastics and humanists, that too much of basic importance was being neglected or ignored. Essentialism became the rallying cry of a vocal and influential group of educational leaders whose primary concern was that the schools of America perform more effectively in teaching the fundamentals," the essentials.

All approaches to education, of course, hold that certain areas or skills or understandings are essential. Perhaps the distinguishing feature of twentieth-century "essentialism" is the relative reduction in the scope of the educational task which it prescribes. In the pattern of scholastic and humanist thought, but in a contemporary setting, the essentialist examines his culture and contends that human experience has demonstrated the inevitable and, so far as foreseeable, permanent essentiality of certain basic skills, techniques, and areas of knowledge. Around these the educational system must be built. Without these there is no true education.

Today there is renewed concern, on a nation wide scale, that the schools are failing to prepare children and youth adequately in these primary fields. On every hand one hears the cries "We must return to the 3 R's," or "Bring back the little red schoolhouse," or perhaps

the question "Why aren't the schools today teaching the fundamentals?" It is not our purpose to assess the validity of these slogans of discontent, but it is unquestionable that, valid or not, they reflect an attitude for which the essentialist platform holds great appeal. It is well that we examine the essentialist position briefly, therefore, to attempt to discover just which 'fundamentals' it supports, and in how far it represents a response to the plea for a return to the school program of some earlier time.

The aim of education as seen by an essentialist can be clearly and simply stated. That aim is to ensure the mastery of the skills and the understanding of the data which are basic—essential—to human existence. American civilization in the twentieth century requires that certain fundamental abilities and techniques, certain bodies of knowledge, be the common possession of the entire citizenry. Without these neither man nor his institutions can survive. Furthermore, the experience of humanity, says the essentialist, has conclusively *proved* that certain particular elements and operations are essential. The design of the curriculum need not, indeed should not, involve guess work or experimentation. Finally, just as vigorously as the advocates of any other educational position, the essentialist holds that true intellectual freedom is to be gained in no other way, that he who would be free must first master the tools and techniques of that freedom. This is the function of education at all levels, from kindergarten through graduate school, but the elementary school clearly looms largest in the realization of this objective as the institution which builds the foundation for the fundamentals.

What, then, are these essentials? Here again we risk the censure of many in suggesting any specific outline of subjects, for one man's essentials may be another's luxuries. Notwithstanding, it is possible to point with considerable assurance to a schedule of fundamental subjects which would receive the enthusiastic support of most, if not all, essentialists. Such a listing would include, under the heading of skills—

Reading

Writing

Computation

Oral expression

and as primary knowledge

The basic facts of the history of Western civilization

The basic governmental processes in American democracy

The basic economic arrangements in the United States

The primary specifics of world geography

The fundamental laws, postulates, or findings of modern science

That this is a minimal listing is freely admitted. Every advocate of an essentialist type program would, in all probability, insist upon some modification or addition. Perhaps physical education, or the development of artistic sensitivity, or familiarity with great literature would be considered equally essential. Nevertheless, it is integral to this approach that the job of the school be viewed in somewhat more concentrated terms than is the case with the other philosophies under discussion. As stated earlier, the essentialist school has one pre-eminent responsibility, that of providing for the mastery and understanding of the fundamentals. It follows that much which is not conceded to be essential is either to take a secondary position in school operation or is to be left entirely to other agencies. The essentialist says that the school can only do so much, that if it is to do the primary job well enough it cannot be dispersing its energies over a wide variety of fields, and that schools as the agent of society are first responsible for turning out well trained and informed young men and women.

While in theory not committed to any particular methods, the essentialist is in fact pretty generally convinced of the effectiveness of those educational principles and techniques which have in his view proved to be most effective in promoting learning of the essentials. Inasmuch as the essentials are essential for everybody, are universally applicable and appropriate, and inasmuch as democracy requires that all its youth attend school, the methods used must of necessity be those most adequate for the training and instruction of vast numbers. Individual differences must give way before social and democratic necessities. Individual interests or talents must not be allowed to supersede or outweigh the main effort. Thus, says the essentialist, for mastery of skills there is no substitute for drill and practice, for the

retentive understanding of primary facts, nothing is of more importance than memory and the ability to put the remembered ideas into coherent statements. Furthermore, essentialism holds that the learnings here emphasized are far too important to the individual and to society for their realization to be left to chance. To rely for effective education merely upon student interest or the possibility of relevance to the student's life is too hazardous. The teacher should attempt to stimulate enthusiasm, but his primary responsibility is to guarantee the acquisition of the fundamentals.

Finally, essentialism parts company with the other traditionalist approaches when its followers insist that the role of education, particularly at the elementary level, does not involve interpretation or evaluation of social, political, and religious data. Again, if the prime function of education is that of mastery, educators are both diluting their efforts and confusing their students when they allow personal evaluations, prejudices, and biases to intrude into the already difficult enough matter of producing some degree of competence. Schools are out of bounds on a number of counts if teachers interpret rather than simply present and explain data, if they deal with currently debatable issues rather than organizing and presenting the history which produced such issues, or if they emphasize the formulation of opinions without first providing a sure groundwork of fact and information.

In summary, as before, the essentialist point of view in education holds that

- 1 Demonstrably, certain things *must* be learned in order to live successfully in modern American society. The schools should concentrate on these, if necessary, to the exclusion of all else.
- 2 Therefore, individual interest or inclination cannot be the primary criterion for determining and designing a curriculum.

* * *

In this chapter we have very briefly examined the three 'traditionalist' philosophies of education which seem to carry the most weight in contemporary American thought. While there are clear-cut differences which distinguish these three approaches one from another, there seem equally clearly to be certain common elements which

pervade all education properly called traditionalist. In the first place, these three philosophies all give a central position to certain essentials, be it the Christian faith, the classical heritage, or basic skills and knowledges. Second, each insists that there are certain absolutes—a definable and manageable ‘deposit of truth’—which must be mastered and understood. In the third place, for each approach it becomes the major responsibility of education to present this “truth” and make it functional. A commitment of this nature to “truth” carries with it a corollary intolerance of “error,” “untruth,” or disagreement. Fourth, the essentials—the gospel, the classics, or the “3 R’s”—are essential regardless of time, place, or circumstance. For as long as man can foresee, if not eternally, these elements will be supremely vital and valuable. And finally, because of these convictions, the educational emphasis must therefore rest upon that subject matter, content, and rigorous practice considered essential for all men rather than upon the needs, desires, or interests of individuals. For the only worthwhile education is one built upon those elements in man and his culture which are permanent and stable rather than transitory and unstable.

Perhaps only this much need be added to the entire discussion, a point noted at the beginning of the chapter. He who is genuinely and intelligently contemporary will have great respect for many of the values to be found in traditionalism, realizing their worth and their relevance to the modern scene. Similarly, it would seem, he who is most genuinely and intelligently Christian, humanist, or classical in his orientation cannot fail to mark and to be guided by the realization that today’s ‘traditions’ were born of yesterday’s revolutions—that this is not the case with many traditionalists is, in a sense, the burden of this chapter. We turn next to examine the more or less contrary views of education which we shall bring together under the label experimentalism.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

BASIC QUESTION In what fundamental respects are all traditionalist philosophies of education likely to be very similar? In how far are the three here considered basically different? Which of the three most closely ap-

proximates your conception of the proper role of education in the United States today? Why?

1. What conditions surrounded the earliest emergence of a genuine "Christian" philosophy of education?
2. How do you account for the appearance in the United States of approaches to education which are essentially European in origin and tone (i.e., the Christian and the classical)?
3. Have these approaches to education been equally effective or influential at all levels of the educational "ladder"? If not, at which levels have they made the most marked impacts?
4. Why is it that, in a so-called modern era, one replete with sophistication and worldliness, traditionalist philosophies carry so much appeal, are so enthusiastically received by so many?
5. What are the "humanities"? How do you conceive their function in American education? Are they or should they be the peculiar province of institutions of college grade?
6. For each of the three approaches here considered, what constitutes the "core" of the curriculum, the basic central studies?

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The Experimentalist Approach to Education

IT WOULD BE UNWISE, although some would contend that it is possible, to attempt to consider experimentalism as appearing in several relatively distinct forms. Unlike the traditionalist approaches just examined, experimentalism is not so readily classified into varieties or types. On the contrary, an analysis of experimentalism seems to indicate that there are simply wings, or experimentalisms of the left and of the right, gauged or placed according to their distance from more traditionalist approaches or according to the degree and extent to which experimentalist principles are adopted. We shall attempt to consider what seems to be the main stream of experimentalism, with some mention of the more significant tributaries to and deviates from the main stream. As before, let us look briefly at the aims of experimentalism, the underlying assumptions, and the curricular and methodological principles which experimentalism advocates.

Antecedents

Essentially a twentieth century philosophy (although, as we shall see, with roots far back in history), experimentalism holds that the traditionalist educational aims are inadequate for modern conditions. Turning from stress upon the other world to concern with this, from worship of past periods of glory to appraisal of contemporary society,

and from a narrow to an almost limitless conception of the "essentials," experimentalism has as its objective a function held to be more consonant with the demands of modern life. The aim of experimentalism, hence of experimentalist education, is to assist man in adjusting to his environment and in remodeling or reshaping the environment to improve the circumstances of life. As with those philosophies which have preceded in this discussion, this is conceived by the experimentalist as the only route to genuine freedom, the freedom that comes from the power to adjust and to control. Experimentalism, its supporters maintain, is that approach to life and education which is most truly a response to the essentially modern demands of the scientific method and the principles of democracy. The implications for teaching and for curriculum design which flow from this central objective are vital and far reaching, and we shall examine them shortly. But let us first sketch certain elements of the basic theory of education which is to implement this objective, with brief attention to the historical context out of which they emerged.

While certain aspects of the experimentalist approach are at least as old as ancient Greece, it is perhaps useful (though admittedly oversimplified) to think of the development of experimentalism as having gone through four primary stages and as the product of three major contributory antecedents. The four: empiricism, naturalism, pragmatism, and finally experimentalism itself. Each contributed a major facet of the contemporary whole, and each has been incorporated into a constantly growing synthesis.

Empiricism refers to the beginnings in the seventeenth century of a conception of truth as derived from direct sensory experience. This, largely though not exclusively attributable to John Locke, has been described as one of the prime intellectual revolutions in Western history. The historian Carl Becker headlines this episode with the phrase "Locke demolishes the system of innate ideas." For, as soon as the primacy of human sensitivity over supernatural revelation is accepted, it must follow that the basis for an educational program cannot lie in a theory of divinely implanted truth, or in a theory which assumes that the only job of education is to bring these "innate" truths into consciousness. Empiricism here means the reliance upon physical

and intellectual *experience* for knowledge and the building of an educational system around the need for the right kinds of experience.

Naturalism has many philosophical usages and interpretations. As here employed, it derives from the writings of the eighteenth-century French critic, Jean Jacques Rousseau, whose life, in one of his own phrases, was dedicated to leading mankind away from absolutism and authoritarianism toward freedom and independence. Rousseau revolted against the ecclesiastical conception of original sin and insisted that God, or nature, was incapable of creating any evil thing but that man and man's institutions were responsible for human degeneracy. Therefore, he argued, education to be effective and successful must proceed *naturally*, must be geared to the *natural* stages of a person's development. Education could not succeed by forcing children into molds preconceived by adults out of adult standards and desires, neither could society en masse establish patterns to which all should conform. Naturalism, for Rousseau and for his followers, has meant freedom for the *individual* child, for the expression of his interests and the fulfillment of his needs. Naturalism in education has come to mean an educational program designed in accordance with these principles. Experimentalism connotes education in which natural experience is central. To this we must add a state of mind.

Pragmatism (the word was coined in the late nineteenth century by the mathematician, Charles Peirce, and was first widely used by the psychologist William James) is perhaps most accurately cited as an attitude or a point of view. Philosophically, pragmatism departs from traditionalist approaches in holding no particular absolutes, no eternal values, no a priori truths. It stands for no preconceived ideas, no special results. Rather, as James put it, pragmatism is a method only, 'a more radical and less objectionable form of empiricism, a more rational and critical application of the philosophy of experience. It is a method of trying to get at truth through evaluating the consequences or the results of an idea, a belief, a hypothesis, or a course of action. In place of acceptance on faith or by virtue of a glorious tradition, pragmatism substitutes testing, proof, verification. Maintaining that there is no meaning outside of human experience, hence no truth except that which can be experienced, pragmatism holds that truth

"is whatever proves itself to be good in the way of belief, and good for definite and assignable reasons" This "proof," then, must necessarily take place in the context of human experiences and truth is finally determined by the criterion of popular acceptance

Experimentalism as Theory

Experimentalism can perhaps now be seen as the synthesis or confluence of these three primary elements with further refinements of specific relevance for education. As expressed and explained by John Dewey since the 1890s, and by his followers, the experimentalist approach to education holds that man is what he is by virtue of the interaction of the individual and his culture, his environment. Because of vast cultural differences men of different societies have been subjected to different types and varieties of experiences. This in turn means to the experimentalist that human nature is *not* everywhere the same and that education must be governed accordingly. The traditionalist insists on one or another universally appropriate educational pattern, the experimentalist, out of his commitment to the impact of experience and to a "natural" approach to education, holds that there is not, nor could there be, any scheme or system of unlimited applicability. This thesis is the source of one of the several secondary labels often applied to experimentalism—cultural naturalism.

This naturalistic, culturally conditioned philosophy is coupled with a firmer conception of the method of pragmatism. For Dewey the chief aim or intelligence, hence of education, is the "improvement of the quality of human life." Two central factors emerge from this ruling principle. In the first place, a coupling of the concern for *natural* education with subscription to the "improvement of the quality of human life" results in a conception of education in which education and life are one and the same thing. For if on the one hand you say that education must be natural, i.e., like life and in conformity with nature, and at the same time you say the education is to *improve* that life, it must follow that there can be no divorcement of education from life. As Dewey has repeatedly pointed out "Education *is* life." "Education is the reconstruction of experience" Education is not so much

preparation for "a more or less remote future" as it is "making the most of the opportunities of present life"¹ In the second place, the above stated aim places upon education the burden of teaching people what, to paraphrase R. Bruce Raup, might be called the discipline of practical intelligence. A school or an educational program to meet the pragmatic test suggested by James and Dewey must bear fruit in improved life conditions. The experimentalist, therefore, elevates the very kind of practical reasoning which we have found labeled mundane and vulgar by certain traditionalists. More than this, the experimentalist insists, again in the pragmatic spirit, that truth is ultimately that idea or belief which has been proved by the test of human experience to solve problems most effectively in terms of human welfare. And of what does the "test" consist? The experimentalist replies that the test is governed fundamentally by the purposes and values which have been reached by genuine popular consensus, by the fullest operation of the processes of democracy. The test can be valid and meaningful only as it proceeds through the media of group deliberation, criticism, evaluation, planning, and agreement. Thus, it is held, is the only approach to education consistent with a democratic philosophy of life.

One further overriding principle is the inevitable corollary of all these ingredients, taken singly or collectively. If one's philosophy is empirical, that is, again, based upon or shaped by experience, that philosophy will perforce be congenial to change and variation. For as experience varies, so must the conclusions drawn from that experience vary. If one's philosophy is naturalistic, it must allow for the variables that are a part of nature. The differences among individual persons, such as differences in rates of growth, must be taken into account. The varieties of environmental and cultural influences which mold individual and social development must be recognized. As one tends toward a more pragmatic view, he will find that the very criteria he has established by which to test ideas and arrive at judgments are themselves subject to constant change as new experience and new evidence are introduced. And, finally, the very process of experimentation and the experimentalist commitment to the "improvement" of life require an orientation which not only expects and accepts revision

¹ John Dewey *Experience and Education* (New York, Macmillan 1938)

and innovation, it actually seeks and exalts change and reform. An experimentalist education, unlike the various traditionalisms, is dedicated to no preconceived order, no established institutional system, no particular status quo. On the contrary, such an educational orientation holds as its primary objective the development of persons equipped to evaluate or assess the culture in which they live, and equipped further to make the adjustment in themselves or *in their culture* which the evidence of experience seems to demand. It is around this basic principle that an experimentalist builds his curriculum; it is by this principle that his methodology is shaped.

Experimentalism and the Curriculum

It is probably impossible, and certainly it is inappropriate, to attempt to describe an experimentalist curriculum in terms of a subject matter hierarchy such as was suggested for the traditionalist approaches. The aims and goals of traditionalist philosophy seem to be met most effectively through the presentation of particular subjects, but the totally different objectives of experimentalism necessarily involve a different approach to the curriculum. For the experimentalist, subjects in and of themselves are not held to be as important as the spirit, attitude, or method with which the subjects are attacked. To illustrate: if the goal is social or cultural improvement, history cannot be studied simply to learn the facts or to develop an appreciation of an earlier period. Indeed, this cannot be even the primary function of the study of history. Rather, history is to be studied chiefly for the light it sheds on contemporary affairs, as an indication of how cultures have developed and changed, *and* as a vehicle for encouraging and giving depth to a spirit of inquiry, criticism, and evaluation. Despite this de-emphasis on subject matter per se, it is possible to state some generalizations about the experimentalist approaches to the curriculum. On the basis of these, it is possible to indicate to a degree the elements of the traditional curriculum which are most likely to receive attention in an experimentalist school.

1 As our allusion to the study of history indicates, the past is studied as a guide for present action and future planning. It is not

raised to a position of pre-eminence as the source of truth *This is not to say that the study of the past is minimized* On the contrary, it is respected and stressed, but the experimentalist contends that its study is made more functional, more relevant to the student's world

2. This suggests that the entire curriculum is determined by reference to the needs and demands of the present At least two significant conditions stem from this First, subscription to a curricular design for today simply because it served well at some earlier time is disavowed Second, since present needs and requirements undergo constant change, so must the curriculum be flexible and adaptable to meet such changes Experimentalism is not pledged to any particular curricular pattern

3 In much the same sense, as no curriculum is deemed suitable for all time neither is there held to be a curriculum appropriate for all men at this time In contrast to the traditionalist view of a common human nature or a universally appropriate value system on which to rear a common education, the experimentalist insists upon curricula which are based upon and respect cultural uniqueness and particularity. Increasingly, to be sure, education has a crucial responsibility for promoting and implementing intercultural or international understanding and organization But the experimentalist interpretation of human nature holds that any attempt to impose one pattern would be self defeating and, by the logic presented in this chapter, anti-experimentalist

4. An experimentalist curriculum to be true to its principles must be broader and possessed of greater variety than the more traditional program Traditionalism sets up curricular limits while experimentalism rejects the appropriateness of any boundaries at all An "experience" curriculum, a "natural" program, education as life these demand that the curriculum be wide in its scope and extensive in its coverage Dedicated to the free and full development of individuals, experimentalism must design curricula which recognize and respect individual needs, interests, and capacities Indeed, without such service, contends the experimentalist, we run contrary to the findings of modern psychology For here one learns that an educational effort which ignores or minimizes the individual is doomed to fail as

education. It may train or indoctrinate, but it will be something less than education.

Out of these convictions and commitments emerge some suggestions of experimentalist curricular design. All that has been said is held to be applicable to education at any level, from kindergarten to doctoral study, but it is probably correct to add that the experimentalist is seeking primarily principles to govern the conduct of mass education. While he would contend that modern conditions, in the United States at least, make his principles ever more appropriate for collegiate and adult education, his attention has been focused pretty largely on the elementary and secondary levels of instruction. At these levels, it seems clear, the experimentalist curriculum has tended to move in the following directions:

- 1 The study of society is considered to lie at the heart of the school effort. The social studies are elevated far beyond any status they might receive in any traditionalist program. This study, it must be repeated, cannot be exclusively contemporary; integral to this social approach is an awareness and a functional understanding of history, but with a broad sociocultural emphasis rather than specialization on purely political, or military, or esthetic history.

- 2 Conversely, the classics, in an experimentalist curriculum, do not hold the pre-eminence which has been traditionally accorded them. They stand neither as goals nor ideals but rather as guides or tools for a more adequate and productive understanding of life today. They are conceived as an essential element in the American heritage, indeed, the experimentalist joins with the classicist in maintaining that certain of the classics are more meaningful in the contemporary world than in the culture of their origin. But, the experimentalist argues, their value and utility must be demonstrated. The classics, too, must be examined pragmatically.

- 3 The experimentalist cannot, with consistency, advocate a curriculum or a school environment which divorces the cultural from the vocational. 'Cultural' is here used to refer to those areas of life and study which are generally labeled intellectual, esthetic, creative, or expressional: philosophy, music, literature, and the arts, for example. Traditionally, these have been raised to a status far higher than that

accorded the more mundane, more practical vocational studies. This difference in degree has been accentuated by a vigorous assumption that the two areas must be kept separate and distinct. For the experimentalist such a contention is altogether untenable. Each, the vocational and the cultural, *needs* the other for its richest fulfillment and both can contribute immeasurably to that fulfillment. Let us cite only two simple but currently pertinent examples: consider the teacher of, let us say, art who is totally unfamiliar with and unaware of the vocational assistance to be had from the fields of psychology and education, consider, and this is of vastly greater significance, the atomic scientist who with his new found power for good or evil is devoid of sympathy for or understanding of philosophy, esthetics and political theory. The experimentalist insists that a divorcement of the cultural from the vocational is not only unsound educationally, it is morally perilous.

4 In much the same fashion the experimentalist tends to find less and less reason for distinguishing between the curricular and the "extra"-curricular aspects of school experience. Just as thirty to forty years ago the progressive experimentalist educator was insisting upon the inclusion of social, avocational, and recreational elements in the school environment, so today he questions the validity of separating the traditionally academic from the general life of the school. It is at least equally important that young men and women become interested participating members of a student government as that they develop facility with numbers or appreciation of the arts. Moreover, following the logic that education is itself life rather than something prior to and isolated from life, the experimentalist finds in a school's social, athletic, or esthetic program educational potential no less valuable than the organized classes in the conventional fields. Increasingly the "extra" in extracurricular is being dropped and the elements formerly associated with the label are fast becoming accepted and full fledged aspects of the modern curriculum.

To summarize, we can say that the experimentalist curriculum considers all areas of experience in terms of their contribution to human adjustment. Insofar as subjects, academic disciplines, fields of investigation, social activities, or athletic events demonstrate usefulness

as 'tools' or "instruments" to facilitate this adjustment, just so far are they conceived as educationally valuable and significant. This is *not* saying that the purely recreational, esthetic, or nonvocational areas have no place in an experimentalist curriculum. The matter of the right use of leisure is unquestionably one of the most crucial educational problems of our time. An educational program which contributes to productive, beneficial use of that leisure is an essential element in any program dedicated to improving man's adjustment to his environment. Criteria such as these require that the educational offering be carefully and critically scrutinized. Education for life on this earth is a massive job, and we cannot afford waste motion or inefficient use of the time available.

The Methodology of Experimentalism

Finally, what has the experimentalist to say about the methods appropriate for his kind of education? Much could be inferred from what has gone before, but let us indicate briefly some especially significant generalizations which must shape the method of teaching governed by this philosophy.

1. Experimentalism denies the existence of absolute truths and holds no dogmas dear. Experimentalism views man and his world in terms rather of temporary probabilities, of conclusions which are always tentative because always subject to the impact of new evidence. The attitudes and methods of experimentalist teachers, therefore, cannot be doctrinaire or dogmatic. The teachers are themselves committed to experimentation in their very teaching. This is true both for the subject matter and for the methods used to present it. Just as the experimentalist teacher must hold a mind open to receive and assimilate new data, so must he be ready, indeed eager, to modify and reform his method of teaching. This is nothing more nor less than allowing the method of science full freedom to function, in the realm of methodology as well as in the area of subject matter.

2. It follows that a primary objective of experimentalist education is to teach others to understand and to live by this philosophy, conceived by its advocates as the most truly *democratic* approach so far

devised by man. This objective is epitomized by Dewey and others as one simply of teaching people how to think. Experimentalism is committed to a view of the educational process in which the mastery of a method is accorded at least equal status with the knowledge of subject matter. Dewey has brilliantly and succinctly dissected the process of thinking into a series of steps: (1) the appearance and recognition of a problem, (2) the erecting of hypotheses or possible ways of attacking the problem, (3) the testing of these hypotheses, either by logical analysis or by actual application, and (4) the evaluation of the outcome of the tests in terms of their ultimate consequences. On the basis of such an analysis of the thought process, it is clear to the experimentalist that the job of education must include the development of habits of critical thinking, of the ability to locate, examine, and weigh evidence, of the awareness of propaganda techniques and of a responsibility for acting in accordance with conclusions freely reached. The teacher's methods must constantly demonstrate these characteristics. In contrast to the methodology of certain traditionalisms, experimentalist teaching stresses investigation rather than drill, expression rather than memorization, and independent thinking rather than conformity.

3 A third methodological emphasis is implicit in the preceding paragraph and becomes explicit in the final sentence. This is the emphasis in method upon the individual student and his personality. Method must be aware of and take account of the individual differences which are so obvious yet so easily disregarded, differences not only in interests, but in rates of growth, or temperament, or family background. No one teaching technique or lesson plan or textbook can ever be expected to serve every individual. Variation, flexibility, adaptability, imagination, and infinite patience, these are the features which the experimentalist emphasis upon individual development demands of its methodology.

4 But, the experimentalist hastily adds, these children or youth are not now nor will they in the future be hermits. They are and will always be members of societies, ranging from the immediate family to the national, not to say international, associations which loom ever larger on the contemporary scene. To place all the stress upon indi-

vidual development is to neglect the social environment in which all individuals live. Education is responsible for providing opportunities for what some have called social learnings, a perhaps misleading term for something that we choose to call simply experience in group living. Again, we note the importance of the so-called extracurricular aspects of school life, but the classroom too must be seen as a resource for social experience. The experimentalist is concerned that students learn how to work with others, to learn from others, and to recognize the benefits of cooperative action. The school must provide opportunities for group investigation, group deliberation, group commitment, and group action. This, too, the experimentalist believes, constitutes an essential element in the business of educating for democracy.

* * *

This discussion of experimentalism may have seemed redundant and repetitious to some. Such redundancy is almost inevitable from the very nature of the experimentalist approach, for it is clear that a basic commitment to "education as life" means that the governing principles are all pervasive. Any attempt to summarize runs the risk of saying the same things once again. This summary will present only those salient assumptions on which the whole philosophy rests.

1. The function of education is to assist man to adjust to his environment or to modify that environment in order to improve the conditions of life.
2. Education, however, is not merely preparation for this process of adjustment. Education itself is life, hence education is itself a part of the adjustment process.
3. The circumstances of life are neither static nor even moderately predictable. Education must of necessity be prepared for change, must be flexible and adaptable as changed conditions produce a changed environment.
4. Education cannot proceed from absolute, hard and fast premises, only from tentative probabilities. Dedication here is to the best available evidence, but better evidence may be just around the corner.
5. Life and the problems of adjustment are both individual and social in nature. Education is obligated to the furthest development of both

aspects of man's make up While learning is ultimately an individual phenomenon, it proceeds in a social context Neither phase can be disregarded

- 6 Subscription to experimentalism involves loyalty to the scientific method and to democracy A genuinely experimentalist educational program must be based upon and exemplify commitment to such principles as freedom of choice, free access to ideas, verification of hypotheses, and intelligent consensus

While there are no distinctly definable types of experimentalism, there are shades or degrees of experimentalism which complicate any attempt at generalization Wide variations are evident for example, in the degree to which the centrality of the individual is supported, or in the extent to which the education as life principle is upheld Similarly, of course, varying degrees of compromise between experimentalist curriculum and traditional method, or between experimentalist method and traditional curriculum, are widely evident It is undeniable, however, that basic and critical disagreement on matters of educational first principles (to use the classical expression) is a characteristic of contemporary American life To certain aspects of these fundamental differences of opinion the next chapter is devoted

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

BASIC QUESTION How are you going to indicate with precision the underlying and crucial differences between an educational philosophy based on traditionalism and one which is frankly and openly experimentalist? Do you find any significant differences in the objectives which each seeks to attain?

- 1 Are there specific environmental conditions—social, political, economic, or religious—under which an experimentalist philosophy would be more likely to survive, to operate effectively? Or is an experimentalist approach consonant with any conditions?
- 2 What events, developments, or phenomena in the development of American civilization created demands for this new experimentalist departure in education? Did experimentalism 'just grow' or was it sparked and powered by forces outside the classroom and the superintendent's office?
- 3 How would you assess or evaluate the impact of experimentalism upon

- (a) college and university education, (b) secondary education, (c) elementary education, (d) education of the preschool child?
- 4 Do we have any concrete and useful evidence as to the effectiveness of experimentalist education in improving the educational product? What does this evidence show?
- 5 What is meant by these currently widely used pedagogical terms: (a) core curriculum, (b) life adjustment education, (c) integration, (d) readiness?

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The Challenge of the Philosophical Controversy

AMERICAN EDUCATION IS FACED with a great number and variety of problems whose solutions ultimately involve a philosophical commitment. Shall the schools be institutions for cultural, or intellectual, or vocational training, or for some combination of the three? Is education responsible for 'blueprinting' the social order of the future and preparing children and youth to build that order? Are schools responsible for the spiritual, as well as the intellectual, well being of their students? Where should education lay the greatest emphasis upon helping the slower minds to achieve a minimum level of literacy and competence, upon raising the intellectual level of the great average, or upon encouraging and inspiring the brilliant? Are there any limits to the extent of education's responsibilities or is education all pervading? These and a host of other questions, which are being asked nearly every day in nearly every city or school district in America, are of the sort whose answers are not to be found without reference to philosophy.

As has been indicated in the two preceding chapters, we have some evidence of the way in which such questions as these might be answered by traditionalists or by experimentalists. We are still plagued by the even more basic question, Which of these ways do *we* choose? It is the prime thesis of this book that our choices relating to American education must be made in reference to some system or collection of

values or principles which we conceive to be democratic. In Chapter 3 such a statement was presented. We maintain that ultimately the basic educational controversies must be resolved with reference to or in the context of what have here been called the abiding principles of democracy. These principles, you will recall, included the following:

Cultural pluralism

Respect for the dignity of the individual

The pre-eminence of individual welfare

Civil liberties

Separation of church and state

Majority rule—minority rights

The duty *and* privilege of responsible citizenship

Belief in human progress

Freedom of enterprise

Reliance on peaceful change

Free public education

Social mobility

Without genuine and intense regard for such values as these, it is impossible to conceive and develop truly democratic educational policy.

An Anthropological Overview of Educational Purpose

We have noted that education in some form is a constant component of human association, that people from prehistoric times to our own day have attempted to provide some means of inducting their young into the life of the community. The question arises: For what specific purposes do societies maintain this educational enterprise? Why do these schools exist? It is possible to cite a great number and variety of reasons in answer to such a question. We shall note briefly those which appear to be the most common and most significant. The character of the society itself, the culture,¹ will determine those reasons.

¹ The word *culture* is used in its anthropological sense to connote the total way of life of a social group which is transmitted to successive generations. We shall also

or purposes which a society will consider most valid and most important. Quite different purposes will be found to loom large in pre-World War II Japan from those which governed the United States or England of the same period, a similar contrast, in considerable measure, is notable as between ancient Athens and Sparta. Consider, too, the contrast in educational purpose as between a near contemporary primitive society, such as the Kwakiutl Indians of British Columbia, and a modern industrialized state.

Certain purposes do, however, seem to have a degree of common support and as such merit our attention. It is when we come to examine the interpretations and the emphases placed upon these purposes by various societies that we find commonness replaced by difference, sometimes to the point where subscription to a common purpose is actually expressed in terms of cross purposes. As members of American society, our responsibility lies in utilizing these purposes in consonance with the democratic principles we hold dear.

Preservation of the Social Heritage. Perhaps the oldest, most continuous, and most universal reason for the maintenance of an educational endeavor lies in the apparently natural human urge to perpetuate the heritage of the group, community, or nation. This has many facets, of course, but it is well to remind ourselves that this is not simply an emotional desire to preserve a folklore, a history, or a particular set of customs. More than that, the preservation of a community's culture is absolutely essential to the continuance of the life of the community itself.

The process of social inheritance is, as far as I know, not necessary for the existence of any wild non human species or variety. The swallows, or the London rats, might, if they forgot all that they had learnt from their parents, sink, for a few generations, to one half, or one quarter, of their present numbers. But the most important and progressive varieties of the human race would probably, if social inheritance were in their case interrupted, die out altogether. If the earth were struck by one of Mr Wells' comets, and if, in consequence, every human

have occasion to use culture in its more limited meaning to refer to intellectual or esthetic pursuits and development. While the two connotations overlap, this distinction should be borne in mind.

being now alive were to lose all the knowledge and habits which he had acquired from preceding generations (though retaining unchanged all his own powers of invention, and memory, and habituation) nine tenths of the inhabitants of London or New York would be dead in a month, and 99 percent of the remaining tenth would be dead in six months. They would have no language to express their thoughts, and no thoughts but vague reverie. They could not read notices, or drive motors or horses. They would wander about, led by the inarticulate cries of a few naturally dominant individuals, drowning themselves, as thirst came on, in hundreds at the riverside landing places looting those shops where the smell of decaying food attracted them, and perhaps at the end stumbling on the expedient of cannibalism. Even in the country districts, men could not invent, in time to preserve their lives, methods of growing food, or taming animals, or making fire, or so clothing themselves as to endure a northern winter. An attack of constipation or measles would be invariably fatal. After a few years mankind would almost certainly disappear from the northern and temperate zones. The white races would probably become extinct everywhere. A few primitive races might live on fruit and small animals in those fertile tropical regions where the human species was originally evolved until they had slowly accumulated a new social heritage. After some thousands of generations they would probably possess something which we should recognize as a language, and perhaps some art of taming animals and cultivating land. They might or might not have created what we should call a religion, or a few of our simpler mechanical inventions and political expedients. They probably would not have recreated such general ideas as 'Law' or 'Liberty', though they might have created other general ideas which would be new to us.²

That the commitment of education to the perpetuation of a social heritage is not necessarily, as some would have us believe, devoting education exclusively to the maintenance of a status quo seems clear from the foregoing passage. That this purpose has frequently dwarfed all others in certain cultures at certain times is, however, equally undeniable. The question at issue in a democracy is one of relating the heritage to the welfare of society, of weighing and evaluating that heritage in terms of its contribution to the increased realization of the

² Graham Wallas *Our Social Heritage* (New Haven, Yale University Press 1921) pp 15 16 Used by permission

fundamental values No education can exist, let alone proceed, without regard for the heritage No education can be completely and unreservedly dominated by that heritage if it is to be truly democratic education

Preparation for Adult Citizenship. A second purpose, common to most if not all provisions for education, is that of preparing young men and women for civic or social competence and responsibility Just as every generation is concerned that the values, traditions, moral codes, or political systems which it holds dear shall not be forgotten or allowed to disappear, so too is every generation anxious to raise and train its youth to take on the responsibility of adult citizenship Without the development of such responsibility in the oncoming generations, the inheritance would be doomed indeed Education, in one way or another, readies its young for the civic and social obligations which will devolve upon them as adults With rare exceptions education is found to emphasize such areas as governmental institutions, war and community defense, motherhood and child rearing, social customs, responsibility to and for one's social group Education has been and continues to be dedicated to *more* than the passing on of a culture from one generation to another Education must couple that with an emphasis no less vital on equipping the young to respect and defend that culture, to live within its limitations, to be familiar with its workings, and to work to strengthen it

Here too lies potential danger to democracy If one is trained to accept, to defend without question, and to operate without understanding, where then is the opportunity for evaluation, criticism, and reform? Again, we are forced to face the problem of examining our social principles in the light of democratic values, in order to bring the two more closely into harmony The very definition of democracy suggested in Chapter 3 requires that "civic competence" in such a society be defined in dynamic, not static, terms This competence, involving to be sure the defensive and respectful elements here suggested, must be conceived as including competence in observation, critical analysis, and imagination as well There is no democratic "competence" which does not include emphases such as these

Vocational Education. Another primary purpose of education is

concerned with the preparation for an occupation. This looms increasingly large on the current stage, but is as old as man himself. While among primitive tribes there was usually little distinction between one's sociocivic responsibilities and one's life work, the divorcement seems to have increased as societies have grown more complex. Among primitives, a man's or a woman's occupational function, hunting, fighting, cooking, or "making medicine," was at the same time his civic obligation. His place in the group was identically social and occupational, hence his education for both proceeded at one and the same time.

In the United States today, however, there is widespread and growing concern at the degree to which one's occupational interests and activities are largely unrelated to the larger cultural sphere, unless it be through self interest. Many are convinced that a crucial cause of this growing unrelatedness is an educational program which tends to separate vocation from culture, occupation from social responsibility. Those of this mind call for a tighter, more realistic integration of the two spheres. But, as our brief excursion into educational philosophy suggested, there is also considerable feeling that education is in danger of becoming overly vocational, or conversely, not cultural enough. Many humanists advocate a still larger degree of divorcement between the two areas than now obtains.

Here, too, democratic values are at stake for if, in the interest of an allegedly desirable educational purity, we strive to separate the sociocivic from the occupational, or more broadly the cultural from the vocational, we are in essence attempting to divorce man from himself. If, as our pattern of democratic principles suggests, we are devoted to respect for individual dignity, to concern for responsible citizenship, and to belief in human progress, we must conceive of the cultural and the vocational as complementary, as building one upon the other. Do we advance individual dignity if, for example, we establish a social and educational hierarchy by regarding one kind of activity, say, philosophizing or musicianship, as intrinsically more valuable than carpentry or merchandising? Is responsible citizenship promoted when, in education, we make no effort to underscore and express the inevitable interrelationships which exist between the 'cultural' areas,

history or literature, for example, and the "occupational" departments like chemistry or home economics? And are we exemplifying belief in human progress when we attempt to operate on a basis which denies that that progress is and can only be the product of the joint application of the cultural and the vocational? At this point the challenge of the philosophical controversy stands out clear and bold.

Improvement of the Social Order. What has just been said suggests another basic purpose of education. Less obvious in primitive societies but ever more potent throughout the history of Western education is the conception that education is the route to social progress. From Socrates to Rousseau, from St. Thomas Aquinas to John Dewey, education has been visualized as the chief means of advancing human welfare, of improving society. To be sure, definitions of education and of progress have varied radically, in terms of religious, national, economic or other orientations. But the generalization, nevertheless, holds.

In a democracy how shall we define the responsibility of education for social progress? Again, our examination of traditionalism and experimentalism indicates that there is major and crucial disagreement at this point. On the one hand we are confronted with a position which holds that the main function of education is to prepare for life in the *next* world. If this is accepted and followed with sincerity and dedication, it is held, progress on *this* earth is the inevitable corollary. On the other hand we are told that unless education shoulders the responsibility directly for the planning and building of a new social order, there can be no progress. While at all points education is central, there exist completely different conceptions of the role of education in promoting the welfare of humanity. Should the school attempt to erect a new social order and educate society to the acceptance of that order? Many feel that this approach would break the essential contact between the people and their schools, would inevitably make schools masters rather than servants. On these grounds many see only social and educational disaster in such a policy. Should the school serve primarily as a mirror of social convention and tradition, concerning itself largely if not exclusively with skills and established fact, and little or not at all with controversy and experimentation? For many, this converts schools into agents of perpetuation, uncritical

supporters of the status quo, hence centers of resistance or opposition to genuine social progress and improvement.

Again the challenge is unmistakably outlined. Many find in the words of men like I. L. Kandel, a quotation from whom follows, the clearest, most genuinely democratic resolution of this fundamental educational controversy.

For the teachers as a profession there still remains the imperative duty of visualizing and giving reality to the dream of America, to discover whether there is an American culture which can furnish ideals and reality for the school, without this, preoccupation with methods and curricula, with techniques and devices for the improvement of the school, and with developing a so-called science of education, is meaningless. Without embarking on a utopian vision of a new social order, the American school still has much to achieve, if it can instill into the minds of the growing generation ideals of freedom and quality, tolerance and open mindedness, and an attitude of criticism and intellectual sensitiveness to the situation as it is, based not on sentiment and theory but on ascertained facts and knowledge, if it can cultivate enlightenment based not on scepticism but on inquiry and thought, and if it can develop an ideal of individualism which recognizes that one's own interest lies not in success at the expense of others but insistently demands a sense of social responsibility and cooperation.

In this sense, because these are fundamentally American ideals, the school can build the social order, in a constituted society the social order is changed by a slow process whose manifestations are incalculable, the school reflects social demands but does not initiate social change. A new education can be developed when the public has determined what the nature of a new America will be, to reverse the process would be to plough the sands. This is not a counsel of despair nor does it mean that education and the school have no concern with social progress, it does, however, mean that they are confronted with the task of discovering how social progress can best be promoted within the fabric of society as it now is. It might be well to recall the words of Thomas Arnold when he undertook the reform of Rugby "Another system," he said, "may be better in itself, but I am placed in this system and am bound to try what I can make of it" ³

³ I. L. Kandel *Can the School Build a New Social Order?* *The Kandelian Review*, Vol. 12 (January 1933), pp. 152-153. Used by permission.

Enhancement of Leisure. At a number of points in this discussion, mention has been made of "cultural" education, by which was meant education in art, esthetics, literature, and the like as distinguished from civic or vocational education. We have seen, also, how, beginning in ancient Athens, this cultural education came to be the civic obligation of the ruling classes and how this sort of education was deliberately separated from occupational education. Finally, we noted that this dualistic conception of education continues to prevail as one of the dominant contemporary educational approaches.

The dilemma, or the challenge, for mid twentieth-century America is at this point acute. The United States finds itself today confronted with insistent demands that education "purify" itself, that it recapture the essential cultural spirit which education for genuine leadership must have, that it cease attempting to "spread the culture thin" so that everyone may partake of it, above all that it rigorously refrain from diluting or polluting cultural education with the mundane concerns of vocationalism. At the same time the United States is a country in which (even despite the requirements of war) leisure time is rapidly increasing to the point where, for some segments of the labor force, waking time off the job is equal to or greater than time on the job!

Some attention has already been paid to the matter of relating and integrating cultural and vocational education. But what of the additional problem created by modern technology, the American standard of living, and the application of democratic principles: the problem of vast new found leisure for an ever increasing proportion of our population? As this factor of leisure looms larger, the obligation of education to prepare and provide for it increases proportionately. If education is to serve the purposes which have already been discussed, it ignores this additional challenge at great social peril. Education concerned with sociocivic competence and responsibility cannot perform adequately if it fails to recognize that for *most* people in the United States thought and action on sociocivic matters will be a function of their leisure time. And surely, those who see the primary obligation of education in terms of a healthy, productive vocational competence

cannot afford to overlook the contribution to that health of a sound adjustment to the phenomenon of increased leisure

The challenge here can perhaps best be summarized historically. For the Athens of Pericles leisure was the privilege of the few who by virtue of wealth and station were relieved of the practical cares of making a living and who, therefore, were freed for the responsibilities of government. For this aristocracy education for civic responsibility and education for leisure were one and the same thing. Thus began the still vigorous and widely held view that one kind of education was appropriate for the classes, another for the masses. The United States today, however, represents a fundamentally changed situation in *both* respects: civic responsibility is not a limited but a general characteristic and increased leisure knows no class bounds. As in ancient Athens, education for social responsibility and education for cultural enjoyment have again become reciprocal and complementary, but now not for the few but for everybody! The educational challenge, therefore, is to make this relationship real, functional, and dynamic.

The Interdependence of Free Public Education and Democracy

Listed as one of the essential ingredients of democracy in America is the institution of free public education. Another means of exploring what is here called the educational challenge is to take cognizance of the degree to which democracy depends upon free public education. Suggested approaches to educational policy for the United States must be judged, ultimately, insofar as they enhance this interdependence or detract from it.

An Educated Electorate Prime requisite for a democracy is an educated electorate. To speak of one without the other is false. Perhaps nowhere has this been more succinctly, yet forcefully, stated than in the famous Farewell Address of George Washington, written in 1796: 'Promote then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a

government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened'

In 1947, reporting on a then crucial parliamentary contest between the Communists and the anti Communists in Italy, Anne O'Hare McCormick wrote a column for *The New York Times* which began 'There are no longer any local elections. A political struggle in Italy was at that moment of the gravest consequence for the rest of the world, the same logic and the same phraseology can be applied, with even greater force and significance, to the United States. Truly, for this country there are no longer any local elections. Consider the following. The actions of a school board in a California city have national repercussions and implications. The election of a district representative to a state legislature portends grave consequences for a great university hundreds of miles away. The selection of a United States senator in one state affects, indeed determines, the character of the government of territories far from that state. The election of a United States President today constitutes, in the final analysis, the selection of policies which will assuredly shape the destiny of the entire world. Never before has the need for an educated electorate been so acute or so far reaching. Never has the political responsibility of the school been so crucial.

The logic of democracy insists that no barriers be placed in the way of making education widely, freely available. Private individuals or organizations must be free, in accordance with the standards determined by society, to establish and maintain schools to serve those who, for one reason or another, wish nonpublic education. Indeed private education is, in some respects, just as essential to democracy as public education. To cite one example, private education constitutes the counterweight against complete government monopoly of education. As such it stands as a major element in the preservation of civil and religious liberty, and as such it must be maintained and strengthened. But private education could not and should not be the sole resource for a responsible democratic citizenry. In its own interest society must establish and support schools which are open to, free to, and representative of all the people. Open to all because with ever fewer exceptions all will be participants in democratic government. Free to all because

the vote is not restricted, as it once was, by property or other qualifications. Representative of all because, in education as in social policy, the general good must take precedence over special interest. If the success of democracy depends upon a literate, intelligent electorate, it follows that democracy and free public education are inseparable.

Equality of Opportunity. Our earlier proposal that democracy involves respect for the dignity of the individual carries the necessary inference that each individual must have an equal opportunity for the full realization of that dignity. America has been called the land of opportunity and the land of the equal chance. There are those who will insist that this phase of the American dream has been passed, that the highly organized, technologically complex, and economically integrated culture of today has destroyed the climate in which genuine equality could prevail. The land is all settled, the industries tend more and more to concentrate, the frontier has disappeared, opportunity is diminishing. If this pessimistic view of modern American culture is true, and few are convinced that it is, the equalitarian role of the school becomes even more significant.

A major part of the American dream, or rather the American reality, has been the belief that education should be available to all. Equality of educational opportunity has become almost as basic a democratic principle as the right to fair trial or freedom of worship. Not without struggle has the realization of this ideal been accomplished and to imply that the ideal has been totally realized would be utterly misleading. Nevertheless, it is true that in an increasingly complex, highly organized, and technical society, public education is the means by which each person is provided a degree of equality. More than this, it seems increasingly evident that this culture has reached the point where, for the great majority, there is no equality of opportunity of any kind without education. Democracy, pledged to the protection of individual rights and privileges, is perforce dependent upon education to make those rights and privileges meaningful. An educated electorate is essential for the preservation of democracy. Equality of educational opportunity is essential in order that there be a democracy.

Freedom of Choice. Just as free public education must provide equality of opportunity, so must it provide for and facilitate the

democratic expression of freedom of choice. Again, respect for the individual personality requires not only that each individual get to school, but also that the school be equipped to serve each individual. Democracy's concern for the individual is enhanced by the findings of modern psychology which demonstrate that maximum personal growth can develop only from a genuine, functional respect for individual differences.

The provision of free, public, universal education (in the United States, this carries with it the element of compulsory attendance) requires that all persons be accommodated in terms of their unique needs and individual interests. If democracy is committed to the protection of a man's right to live his own life, it is therefore dedicated to protect his right to choose freely. The schools which democracy establishes and maintains must themselves provide opportunities for the free expression of that choice.

Within obvious limits the obligation of education at this point seems clearly to consist of at least two responsibilities. In the first place, in order to give free play to individual choice, the curriculum must cater to a wide variety of interests and needs. After, or rather along with, those basic essentials upon which followers of all educational philosophies are agreed, much other experience must be available. Preparation for citizenship and the provision of equality of opportunity are not most effectively met when all are pressed into the same mold. This is the very antithesis of democracy. The school, to be truly democratic, must strive to develop ever keener awareness of the differences in desires, needs, and interests and must endeavor ceaselessly to serve them. That this should either supplant or overshadow the function of the school as an agency of social cohesion and understanding is not to be implied from these remarks. Both are imperative.

Freedom of choice implies a corollary privilege of democracy: the right to be different. As cities and towns grow larger, as our sources of information and recreation become more standardized, as our very mores seem to take on a uniform national pattern, one's freedom of choice tends to grow more limited simply by virtue of the smaller number of choices available. The same forces tend in much the same

way, to place a premium on conformity. This is a time in which the right to be different, which is of the very *essence* of democracy, is in jeopardy. This situation has developed as a result of forces we have not really tried to control. In the second place then, the school must go beyond the mere provision, too often mechanical and lifeless, of a varied curriculum. This is important, but it is not enough. In the interest of protecting and promoting freedom of choice the schools are obligated to protect and promote the right to be different. Too often schools and colleges, in their academic policies, in the manner of their teaching, and most of all in their patterns of social behavior, discourage—indeed deliberately choke off—the tendency to develop difference. The different is regarded as strange, odd, and unnatural by the students, the community, and saddest of all by the teachers themselves. Such a philosophy strikes at the heart of the democratic ethic and undermines the true function of education.

The American Standard of Living In a number of respects beyond the all important matter of political literacy, the culture of America requires an educated citizenry. That which is often referred to as the American way of life is, of course, a composite not only of particular attitudes and loyalties, but also of scientific and technological development, of artistic creation, and of patterns of material consumption. The health of all these is governed in major part by the kind and quality of American education, and this health is in turn part and parcel of the health of American democracy.

We accept the premise that one of the sources of strength in American democracy is highly developed technological know-how. It follows then that a high level of technological education available to all is an essential element in maintaining or raising the American standard of living. The industrialized economy of the United States, based as it is upon a highly integrated, massive yet delicate complex of policies and practices, cannot be operated without infinite skill, technical facility, and scientific understanding. To the degree that American democracy is dependent upon and interrelated to the American technological and economic mechanism, to that degree American education, *in the interest of democracy*, must provide experience and training

which contributes to the strengthening and further development of that mechanism

All that has been said regarding the role of education in fostering individual uniqueness and cultural differentiation can serve to underscore the essential contribution of education to the arts. Education must be equally concerned that through its curriculum, its methods, its facilities, above all through its philosophy, it *encourages* free creative expression. That this is not enough, however, is demonstrated by the widespread questioning as to whether or not the spiritual tone of mass education is yet sufficiently high. Democracy proceeds, after all, at a pace set for the most part by the majority. Many who examine the conduct of contemporary American education seriously and sincerely question whether or not that education has resulted in mass demand for better "goods" in the realms of the mind and the spirit. They ask if the quality of American newspapers, motion pictures, music, literature, yes even American religion, is anywhere near what it should be in the light of the values and assumptions of democracy. (One is reminded of the cartoon depicting the motion picture producer considering a newly submitted scenario at a time when a great many films dealing with social issues had been shown across the nation. The producer is shown shaking his head and remarking "Tolerance isn't box office any more.") The answer to the critics' question is, of course, a clear No. Mass education has only partially and haltingly raised the standards of intellectual, esthetic, and spiritual life and a tremendous task remains. Again the philosophical controversy clearly presents alternative approaches and, as I. B. Berkson once wrote, "It makes a vast difference on which side of the social Great Divide one stands."⁴

Finally, there is considerable evidence that education and the material standard of living bear a reciprocal relationship. If, as was noted a few paragraphs earlier, the strength of American democracy is intimately bound up with the nation's technological potential and its power to create and to build, it is equally true that that strength is proportionate to the nation's consumptive capacity. Old adages have

⁴ I. B. Berkson *Preface to an Educational Philosophy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940), p. 111.

it that 'Wealth begets wealth' or 'Him as has, gits!' The American economy would seem to support this thesis at least to the extent that increased production, say in automobiles, creates increased wealth in the form of improved transportation, more effective transport in turn allows for more efficient distribution and merchandising, which in turn places goods on the market more economically. Or new wealth is created in the form of new jobs, new materials, new services for which this increased production creates new demand. And how does education enter this process? In considerable measure, education appears to serve as the spark plug in the economic engine. It seems reasonably clear that the demand for material goods, from household appliances to books and magazines, increases in relatively direct proportion to the amount of education possessed by consumers.⁵ The higher the general level of education, the greater the demand for material goods, the more productive the economy, and the greater the potential strength of the democracy which lives with that economy. While a cause and effect relationship has by no means been established in this area, the degree of correlation between education and economic demand is too high to be overlooked. It seems pertinent to remind of the corollary question previously raised regarding the relationship of education to the level or *quality* of that demand.

Once again we face the philosophical question posed nearly a century ago by Herbert Spencer when he asked, 'What Knowledge Is of Most Worth?' The challenge of the contemporary philosophical controversy presents us with, fundamentally, two answers. Our selection or our synthesis cannot fail to take account of the spiritual and material aspects of the American standard of living and of education's relation thereto.

National Defense. In any discussion of the interdependence of democracy and education in these times there will be those who will wish to note the contribution of education to the military defense of democracy. There are many for whom the phrase 'military defense of democracy' is a contradiction in terms. These would insist that educa-

⁵ See, for example *Education an Investment in People* a statistical analysis of this relationship prepared by the United States Chamber of Commerce (Washington, D. C., 1953).

tion's function is the reverse that the school must so instruct and so educate that no military action is necessary. It is not appropriate here to debate the validity of this latter contention. Let us note only that majority sentiment, as evidenced by congressional and federal executive action, conceives of solid material military defense as of primary importance.

This commitment having been made, the dependence of a military establishment upon education becomes altogether obvious, particularly when that establishment is composed of conscripted civilians. The military, like the economy, has become a mechanized, technical, highly complicated institution requiring, more than ever before, skilled technicians for its personnel. Reasonable literacy is an absolute essential in the modern American army or navy. At any level, some degree of power to judge, discriminate, and make decisions is required. If, then, the defense of the United States is placed in the hands of armed services which are manned for the most part from civilian ranks, it is crystal clear that the *major part of training for defense takes place in the schools of the nation*. This is not to say that the elementary and secondary schools should be converted into military training schools; not at all. It is, however, calling for recognition of the fact that a civilian army or navy is dependent upon the schools for a major share of its preparation for defense.

This awareness of the intimate relationship of education and defense has several significant ramifications. For example, equally crucial to the defense of democracy is the necessity for making democracy work at home. There is always a danger of concentrating popular energies on the amassing of military might to the neglect of the well being of the home front. The current situation as we analyzed it earlier indicates the untenability, indeed the impossibility, of failing to perceive that the defense task includes and involves the increasing realization and demonstration of democracy at home. While it has a clear responsibility in terms of military defense, education has also a clear and even more vital responsibility toward the implementation of democracy as a defense measure in the United States and elsewhere. Schools must teach, must demonstrate, must practice, and must live

by the values inherent in the democratic ethic. This is the surest defense.

Another aspect of the defense character of education is the obvious matter of public health. Neither can the military be adequately staffed nor can the country amply and adequately live its democracy without a healthy citizenry. Physical and mental health are, therefore, among the chief concerns of the American school—and how could it be otherwise?

Finally, democratic education under conditions like those which currently obtain has an unique defensive responsibility. One of the essential principles of American democracy is the principle of majority rule. Among other concomitants this principle involves the maintenance of a proper balance between the civilian authority and the military. History is replete with examples of the absence, or the elimination of such a balance and the resultant ascendancy of the military to absolute power. (Consider Caesar, Oliver Cromwell, Napoleon Franco.) In every instance with the establishment of military authority went the decline, and usually the disappearance, of democracy. In a time when military power seems indispensable, education has a responsibility for maintaining balance and perspective. The schools are responsible for creating an awareness that national defense includes, among many other things, defense against a tendency to grow militaristic or to subvert democratic values by a too hasty reliance upon military authority. In the interests of national defense the school must stand guard against the development of attitudes which are *too* defensive. The school must, to defend democracy, be aggressively and vigorously democratic, must serve as both the guardian and the demonstrator of the principles of democracy. In this sense, education *is* national defense.

* * *

We have examined in this chapter certain fundamental purposes of education and, more particularly, some aspects of the basic and inescapable interdependence of a democratic culture and a free public educational system. We noted that democratic education must be seen as charged with a number of various yet complementary functions.

It must operate to ensure the maintenance of those values which a society holds dear while at the same time it emphasizes the necessity for continued re-examination and intelligent change of the social order. It must provide the instruction and facilities which prepare youth for productive civic and vocational life, but it must also give heed to the requirements of ever increasing leisure time. We noted further that democracy is utterly dependent upon universal education, not only for intelligent citizenship, but also for its very defense—against foreign aggression and against domestic subversion of its central principles. Just as clearly, the well-being of the economic life of America is inextricably related to the strength and virility of a free public school system.

Much could be added and much of what follows should serve to elaborate further the nature of the philosophical alternatives which today confront American education. Considerations of problems of curriculum design, school administration, federal government relations to education and religion in public education, to name but a few, will inevitably underscore one or another aspect of the traditionalist-experimentalist cleavage. In concluding this brief and all too sketchy overview of the philosophical controversy, it seems appropriate to repeat the contention with which the chapter began: that ultimately the basic educational problems must be solved, the fundamental educational policies determined in the context of the abiding values and principles of democracy. If we do otherwise, neither democratic education nor education for democracy is possible.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

BASIC QUESTION. We have emphasized the differences between traditionalism and experimentalism in education. Are there any important and potentially useful identities or similarities in the two approaches? If so, how might these be of value in devising a workable philosophy for American education?

1. Examine the catalogues and announcements for a large state university, an independent liberal arts college, a state teachers' college, and a denominational college. Which approach to education does each seem to you to exemplify and what is the evidence for your conclusion? Are all these approaches synonymous with your conception of the "liberal arts"?

2. A school which is based wholly upon subscription to a traditionalist philosophy is considered by many as detrimental, if not dangerous, to the health of a democratic society. Do you agree? Why or why not?
3. Similarly, why do many regard a progressive or experimentalist approach as intrinsically harmful and undesirable? Examine your own elementary and secondary schooling. Were there here evidences of an uncritical, exaggerated, and/or indefensible application of certain experimentalist principles?
4. How would you respond to the oft repeated suggestion that American education return to the 'little red schoolhouse'? What does this demand imply and to what extent does it constitute sound advice?
5. Newly emerging is an offshoot of experimentalism which its authors have seen fit to call reconstructionism. Taking its cue from the experimentalist premise that school and society cannot be divorced, reconstructionism goes on to contend that it is the responsibility of education to take the lead in rebuilding, reforming, "reconstructing" the social order. For details consult Theodore Brameld's *Ends and Means in Education: a Mid-Century Appraisal* (New York, Harper, 1950) and *Toward a Reconstructed Philosophy of Education* (New York, Dryden, 1956). Can you accept these statements of principle as crucial foundations for a revised and revived American educational enterprise? Does this constitute in any sense a resolution of the fundamental philosophical split with which these chapters have dealt?
6. Consider such recent studies of contemporary American life as Frederick Lewis Allen's *The Big Change*, David Riesman's *The Lonely Crowd*, and Bernard Bell's *Crowd Culture*. In your view, what is the bearing of prevailing educational philosophy upon the cultural developments discussed in these writings?

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PART *three*

THE ORGANIZATION
OF
AMERICAN EDUCATION

Fifty years ago one would have been quite accurate in stating that education in the United States was tripartite in structure, consisting as it did of the elementary, secondary, and higher levels. The educational enterprise has by now been expanded to include "preschool" programs, junior high schools, junior colleges, and extensive adult education programs, plus countless less central but nevertheless significant activities such as workers' education and in-service education. Under the three conventional headings, we shall consider both the traditional institutions and some of the more recent additions to the American school "ladder." Our concern here is with two primary questions: (1) How did the American school system come to be organized in this fashion? and (2) What are the significant and unique functions of the various levels of this system? A third basic question, to be considered in later sections, must inevitably be raised: Are these schools effectively and adequately meeting the demands of contemporary American citizenship? Then we shall turn our attention briefly to what might be called the out-of-class aspects of education, to such highly important elements of American school life as guidance, health, library services, the patterns of extracurricular life, and the like.

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Elementary Education

The History of Elementary Education in the United States

The American Common School The original colonial settlers carried from their European cultures some definite ideas as to how the education of the young child should be handled. Europeans had established and maintained, by the time of American colonial beginnings, schools designed to teach the basic skills of reading, writing and ciphering, schools under the auspices of churches, craft guilds, municipal governments, and charitable organizations. There was in 1607, therefore, a respectable backlog of custom and experience in the matter of providing elementary education.

But it is highly significant that those emigrants who landed and settled in New England in 1620 brought from the Old World something more, an element which helps to account for the fact of New England's leadership in so much of American educational history. The first New Englanders were Puritans, followers of John Calvin, representative of the fifteenth and sixteenth century break with the Roman Catholic Church which we call the Protestant Reformation. As Calvinists, these Puritans deeply believed in the capacity of individuals to reach God independent of any priestly hierarchy. They were fully convinced, however, that any realization of such a personal relationship with God required that the individual be equipped to read and understand the word of God, the Bible. Medieval Catholicism

had followed a policy of restricting the use of the Bible to the clergy. Protestantism, and perhaps especially Calvinism, necessitated a basic and unequivocal commitment to universal literacy to the extent required for reading the Bible. From Martin Luther on, perhaps most notably among the New England Calvinists, Protestantism emerged as the religious force supporting and championing increased educational opportunity. Our Puritan forebears came to these shores with some background of educational experience and, far more important, a conviction that fundamental education for everyone was essential.

With this commitment the Massachusetts colonies, and later the rest of New England, founded the abiding American tradition of public responsibility for elementary education. At first the educational obligation was thought to be most effectively met on a basis of individual responsibility. Children were sent to the famous "dame schools," or private tutors were engaged. The dame school was simply a class, held in a home and usually run by a mother or housewife, in which the children learned their ABC's, the catechism, and perhaps a little elementary arithmetic. Or a schoolmaster would be engaged by a group of parents to give similar instruction. It soon became evident, however, that these relatively informal, somewhat erratic provisions did not constitute an effective guarantee that the basic requirements of literacy in the Puritan society would be fulfilled. It was this realization which prompted the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1642 and 1647 to enact the legislation which is generally conceded to mark the real beginnings of American public education.

The famous Massachusetts School Laws of 1642 and 1647 can be said to have accomplished three main things. In the first place, these laws gave official sanction and support to the principle of *public responsibility* for the provision of elementary (here, rudimentary) education. The colonial legislature in these laws charged the colony, through its public officials, with the duty of providing education for all children. In the second place, this legislation specifically required the local communities to establish schools and authorized the local governments to raise funds through taxation for their support. And third, the authority of the colonial government was placed squarely behind local educational efforts, a recognition that educational welfare was the concern

of the entire commonwealth and not a purely local matter. Historians continue to debate the actual effectiveness of these laws in their early operation, but the fact remains that they constitute landmarks of almost unequaled importance in the history of American education.

From such beginnings the American public school system has grown, gradually, and with bitter struggle marking the way, the principle of public support for elementary education gained acceptance. As the colonial system was replaced by the independent national government, the spirit which motivated the early Puritans began to take hold on a national level. The provisions for the disposition of the Northwest Territory, enacted into law even before the adoption of the Constitution, evidenced an acute national consciousness of the importance of education to a democratic society. These provisions, contained in the famous Ordinances of 1785 and 1787, extended the Calvinist commitment from the area of religious literacy into the realm of political citizenship. "Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall be forever encouraged." And with this statement of principle was instituted the policy of reserving, within the states as they were formed from the Northwest Territory, sections of land to be employed in support of schools. From the admission of Ohio in 1802, every new state in which the Federal government has held rights to land has been the beneficiary of this policy.

The establishment of a truly public educational system involved more than the enlistment of public willingness to pay taxes in its support. Crucial, too, was the question of eliminating the controls over education traditionally held by various nonpublic agencies, especially the churches. The battle over the removal of the American elementary school from denominational control was a long and difficult one. Increasingly, in the face of the multiplication of religious sects in America, it became apparent that no educational system could be public and at the same time be the agency for the dissemination of denominational doctrine. A democratic community, concerned about education for effective citizenship, could not afford the risks inherent in competing, oftentimes contradictory, school systems. Public education

had to be controlled by *all* the people, not splintered into schools of sectarianism

The contemporary manifestations and ramifications of this history are the province of a later chapter. Twenty or thirty years ago many students of American education seemed convinced that this tradition of nondenominational public education was so firmly entrenched in the American culture as to be in no danger of dislodgement. Contemporary developments make it increasingly clear that the relation of religion to public education is one of the educational problems most crucially demanding our candid and dispassionate study.

By 1850 public elementary education was an accepted national institution throughout the East and the North, and was being carried to the West by the emigrants. The South, however, with a different tradition and unique institutional patterns, had not followed the road traveled by the other sections. The Protestant concern for universal religious literacy, while carried to the southern colonies by Anglicans, Presbyterians, and Lutherans, was confronted by the tradition, largely of English origin, that education was a private responsibility. Public education was conceived largely as an institutional provision for those unable to meet their educational obligations privately. Education provided at public expense under public auspices came to be equated with charity education or schools for paupers or indigents. For those who could afford it private or tutorial education was the accepted pattern. Those too poor to finance this type of education were generally too proud to take advantage of the schools provided through public channels. The result was the development of a tradition which looked upon public education as undesirable, socially and academically, a tradition which, despite the establishment of a considerable number of public schools, retarded a genuine public education movement until long after Appomattox. By the turn of the century, however, great steps toward providing universal public education had been made. Despite the peculiar southern problem which results from the great Negro population, southern public education is in many respects today leading the nation in the advance toward improved educational service. In its general organization American elementary education today reflects its antecedents. Two structural patterns are predominant: an

elementary school of eight years and one of six years. The eight year arrangement is the traditional one, dating from the first half of the nineteenth century. It is also by far the more widespread. The six year pattern is the most prominent of a number of more recent deviations from the conventional schedule. Essentially, the American elementary school is intended to serve the educational needs of children between the ages of six and twelve to fourteen. Contemporary terminology refers to this stage as "childhood education," in contrast to "preschool" and "adolescent" education. We shall consider the curriculum and methodology of elementary education after a brief examination of the three major innovations in the structure of elementary education.

The Kindergarten. The first major institutional addition to the conventional elementary school appeared in the United States in 1855. This was the kindergarten, an importation from Germany in a period when many American educational leaders were finding in that country models for the reform of education in the United States. The kindergarten was so named by its founder, Friedrich Froebel, to signify his conception of the true character of children as flowers to be protected, cultivated, and allowed to grow naturally as in a garden. It was clearly an institution of revolt against the traditional educational thought of the early nineteenth century. Previously, educators had voiced concern about the appropriate conditions for learning, notably Johann Amos Comenius, the "incomparable Moravian," in the mid-seventeenth century. But formalism and rigor ruled in the schools of Europe and colonial America, and even the English "infant schools" were run on the basis that schools were intended to form and produce miniature adults.

Froebel, intensely religious and mystical, found this position altogether indefensible. His conceptions of the relation of man to God, and of the character of childhood, led him to insist that children were in "unity" with God, hence possessed certain of His spiritual qualities. Like flowers or plants, said Froebel, children partake of the spirit of God, and their upbringing and education should be governed by this realization. Following in the footsteps of Rousseau, therefore, Froebel insisted that the education of the very young should proceed *naturally*, and this meant for him an education which recognized and capitalized

upon the child's natural inborn desire for activity, for self-expression, in a word, for play. The early education of a child must not inhibit these natural tendencies but must foster them and use them to promote the development of the sort of personality which God had intended.

Froebel established schools in which this philosophy reigned. He developed techniques and teaching aids intended to facilitate the sort of program he advocated. The techniques and the devices have long since been discarded or modified, the kindergarten is no longer the chapel of mystical wonderment which Froebel envisioned. But his emphasis on the natural character of the growth process has been furthered and broadened, and a part of this natural process has come to be seen as a real beginning of education per se. The externals of Froebel's kindergarten may have disappeared but, from the establishment of the first American kindergartens in such cities as Watertown (Wisconsin), Boston, San Francisco, and St. Louis during the period 1855 to 1880, this phase of the elementary education program has steadily gained in stature and support. Today all states in the union permit the establishment of public kindergartens, while some make their maintenance mandatory if local public demand is sufficient. Rapidly it seems clear, the kindergarten is coming to be as integral a part of the elementary school program as any other phase of that level's activity.

The Junior High School. The second major extension of elementary education occurred about 1910 with the establishment in Columbus, Ohio, and Berkeley, California, of the junior high school. It is a moot point whether this institution, at first called the intermediate school, should be considered as elementary or secondary. We choose to discuss it here simply because the grade levels involved overlap the conventional elementary school more than they do the high school. The question is not particularly important, inasmuch as the junior high school was designed and instituted to do a job which neither the conventional grammar school nor the traditional high school was accomplishing. Fundamentally, the junior high school was, and is, intended to supply a transitional school experience for the child who must pass from elementary to high school.

Based on the clearly demonstrable fact that the ages eleven or twelve

to fourteen or fifteen are peculiarly crucial years in the growth of a child, this institution has developed in an attempt to serve that particularly unique age group. In theory, at least, the junior high school operates to introduce the young adolescent to increased social responsibilities, to the beginnings of a curriculum more specialized along adult lines, to vocational and esthetic orientations. To be sure, these are the province of the elementary school as well, but it seems undeniable that the approach to and the emphases in such areas as these must be totally different for the thirteen year old from those employed for the eight year old. Ideally the junior high school serves to facilitate explorations of oneself and one's role in his world and to ease the initiation into the more mature social and academic life which characterizes the high school. In the interest of further promoting what Rousseau and Froebel called a *natural* educational process, additional refinements have been adopted or are being considered. For example, certain school systems have extended the junior high school to include grades 7 through 10 and have combined the eleventh and twelfth grades with the two junior college years. Following the same logic, elementary schools are frequently conceived today as consisting of a 'primary' section, grades 1 through 3, and an "intermediate" section up to or on into the junior high school grades.

The Nursery School. The latest institutional addition to elementary education is the nursery school. Together with the kindergarten, this school is often termed 'pre-elementary' education, a designation which some find misleading and artificial in that it sets up a divorcement between nursery kindergarten and elementary education which does not or should not exist. The objectives of these early childhood schools and the elementary schools are not essentially different, except in degree, and increasingly nursery schools and kindergartens, especially the latter, are taking their places as integral parts of the total educational endeavor.

The nursery school seems to have developed somewhat accidentally. During the early 1900's in France and England, there began to appear institutions to care for the children of working mothers. These agencies, someone has dubbed them 'checking stations,' were designed and equipped to handle only the physical needs of the children and, at first,

held no conception of an educational function. Inevitably and irresistibly, however, the educational potential in this situation gained recognition with the result that by 1910 the 'day nursery' was transformed into the 'nursery school,' and a new rung on the educational ladder was added.

The nursery school as a bona fide educational institution should not be regarded as merely a downward extension of the kindergarten. In some respects, of course, it is just that, but its chief justification and the principle by which nursery education is supposed to operate holds the nursery school to be primarily a supplement to the home. The nursery school, properly administered, facilitates adjustment to kindergarten and first grade, but this is rather a by-product of the central function, that of providing the child with a well rounded and healthy social and recreational experience. Again Rousseau and Froebel. Nursery education, therefore, by attempting to provide (1) skilled leadership, (2) a social environment which the home cannot match, and (3) recreational equipment beyond the reach of most families, attends to the physical and emotional health of the young child and, by so doing, provides a valuable educational experience.

As with all phases of elementary education, so too the nursery school poses acute and far reaching questions which cannot be brushed aside. Some of these questions will be touched upon later in this chapter, others will be at least mentioned in succeeding chapters. Let us turn now to examine certain statements of the purpose of elementary education and then proceed to discuss some aspects of the operation of the elementary school program.

The Purposes of Elementary Education

What is the elementary school supposed to do? Probably no period in American educational history can equal the present in its wide spread concern for the whys and wherefores of the educational process. Statements of educational purpose are legion. Not only are educators attempting to draft such philosophical credos, but also Parent Teachers Associations, business and labor organizations, churches, and a host of individuals are engaged in analyzing and defining the function of

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One author puts it this way The responsibility of the elementary school can be summarized as involving the acquisition of four "primary" skills These skills he lists as ¹

1. The ability to read in the vernacular
2. The ability to write and to spell
- 3 The ability to compute, to perform the basic number operations
4. The ability to make primary social adaptations, e g , cooperation sharing, tolerance, and the like

A noted contemporary student of the history of education finds it appropriate to speak in more specific terms of the function of elementary education A synthesis of the predominant conceptions of elementary education which he reports would seem to include ²

1. Meaningful spiritual or religious experience of a nondenominational character
2. The basic economic information and attitudes without which one would be lost in an industrialized, competitive society
3. Adequate and meaningful training for citizenship, for social responsibility
4. Practical literacy in reading, writing, and numbers
- 5 Opportunities for and encouragement of the development of sound habits for the use of leisure time
- 6 Preparation for worthy home membership
- 7 Practice and understanding of sound health habits

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tions" The Commissioner charged elementary education with the ultimate scholastic responsibility for guaranteeing:

1. Foundations of knowledge
2. Foundations of skills
3. Foundations of attitudes
4. Foundations of appreciations
5. The foundation of good "habits of work"
6. The foundation of "skill in social adjustment"

In 1939 the New York State Department of Education, through a state wide educational commission, produced a statement of the "cardinal objectives" of elementary education. These, presumably, are the goals set by this group for the elementary schools of New York. Elementary education is here made responsible for the development of:

1. Desirable social relationships
2. Desirable individual aptitudes
3. Critical thinking
4. Appreciation . . . of worth while activities
5. Common knowledge and skills
6. Physical and mental health

No matter where you look, it is a large order! Some insist that any such listing of the objectives of elementary education serves admirably to illustrate the contention that the school is trying to do too much, and hence doing nothing well enough. These sample statements demonstrate, however, a pretty clear pattern of agreement on the fundamentals of elementary education, fundamentals, be it noted, which are far broader in scope than the traditional 3 R's. For example, while all four of these statements do afford prominence to basic skills and knowledge, equally fundamental, apparently, is the matter of social adaptation and social responsibility. Almost equally important is the role of the elementary school in helping to build appreciation, of music, art, literature, of creative expression generally. And with this emphasis goes a stress on making that appreciation functional for our steadily expanding leisure time.

John S. Brubacher³ presents an interesting analysis of the effects of

³ Brubacher, *op cit*, Chaps. II-III and pp. 391-393

social forces upon the conception of the role of elementary education in American life. As these forces have played upon the elementary school, they have tended to highlight certain emphases which in turn have resulted in modifications, even reorientations, of the curriculum.

The earliest elementary schools were formed directly out of the religious tradition of the colonies. Elementary education was almost totally conditioned by the demands of the clergy and the clerically inclined higher educational authorities. A classical theological elementary school curriculum was the natural and inevitable result. The second social force which drastically affected the elementary school was the rising economic interest. As the hold of dogmatic religion weakened in the face of vigorous interest in trade, commerce, and manufacturing, so did the emphasis in elementary education change. Slowly but surely, elementary (by now the common) school came to be conceived as the training ground for economic efficiency, as the place where one obtained the rudimentary skills which were necessary for a successful economic life. Vocational education, in such areas as business arithmetic or navigation, began to loom ever larger. The elementary school had become the seed ground for American commercial, industrial, and technological advance.

The third of these conditioning forces, operative most clearly in the period between the Civil War and World War I, Brubacher characterizes as nationalism. Under the spur of intensified national consciousness, of hitherto unequalled ventures into international affairs, and of ever larger scale wars, elementary education became a vehicle for the development of national loyalty, civic pride, and patriotism. American history came into prominence as an integral part of the elementary school curriculum, with studies of civics and the American economy as vital accompaniments.

More recently a fourth influence has operated to modify and reenergize the nationalistic emphasis. Increasingly, as the previously cited statements of purpose demonstrate, elementary education has come to be conceived as a political training ground. Integral to any education which is considered fundamental for life in a democracy is the matter of preparing for citizenship in that democracy. The elementary school has come to be the institution in which should be

stressed not only loyalty and devotion to country, but also the obligations and responsibilities which that citizenship entails. There emerges the contemporary emphasis in elementary education upon tolerance, cooperation, human dignity, and those values commonly associated with a democratic morality. The instruction in these areas at the elementary level must be simple and rudimentary, nevertheless, the impact of this latest major social influence has forced the elementary school to enlarge its program, its facilities, and its philosophy to meet the new demands. It is clear that elementary education has become more rather than less crucial to the nation through the years. Let us now examine briefly some of the major aspects of elementary school operation today.

The Operation of Elementary Education

The Magnitude of Elementary Education Because of the low birth rate which prevailed in the United States during the depression years, the elementary school enrollment for the late 1930s and early 1940s dropped markedly to a low of approximately 19 million. World War II, however, gave a tremendous boost to the birth rate with the result that in 1951 some 21 million to 22 million children were enrolled in elementary schools. By 1955-1956, elementary school enrollment had reached 29 million and the end was not in sight. While estimates of the extent and duration of this increase vary somewhat, it is expected that the high birth rate will be maintained. As a result, it is anticipated that elementary school enrollment in 1960 will be nearly 30 percent above 1954 and in 1970 over 70 percent higher than in 1954.⁴

To serve this vast and increasing student population, there were (1951-1952) 123,763 public and nearly 11,000 private schools in operation with new buildings or additions to older structures constantly being erected. The property value of elementary schools and grounds must be computed in billions of dollars. It costs approximately \$6 billion per year to finance the elementary schools, including expendi-

⁴ For excellent data and summary of the impact of population trends upon school and college enrollments see *Teachers for Tomorrow* (New York: The Fund for the Advancement of Education, Bulletin No. 2, November 1955).

tures for capital outlay and expansion In the year 1951-1952, there were 702,158 elementary school teachers, distributed as follows

	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Total</i>
Public	77,627	542,177	619,804
Private	5,473	76,881	82,354

These figures do not indicate what is unquestionably the most crucial elementary school problem—the critical shortage of teachers In recent years, due to the dislocations caused by the war, the attractions of more lucrative positions in other fields, or the arduousness of elementary-school teaching under crowded, substandard conditions, many teachers have left the elementary classroom for other forms of employment But, far more important, the number of persons preparing for and entering the teaching profession has not kept pace with the demand in the form of increasing enrollments In 1946, 108 000 persons were teaching on the basis of emergency or substandard certification, that is, they were granted teaching positions without fulfilling the minimum requirements set by the various states for the preparation of teachers By 1954-1955 this figure had been reduced somewhat to 91,000, but this represented an increase of over 20 000 emergency teachers since 1953 By far the largest proportion of these was in elementary schools (It is significant to note here, to convey a more complete picture of the present crisis facing American education, that the actual number of emergency teachers in the high schools doubled during the postwar decade) In California, for example, where fantastically large population increases have further complicated the state's problems, the number of emergency or provisionally credentialed teachers fluctuated between 10,000 and 12,000 for several years In 1955-1956, nearly 10 percent of the total teaching force of the state was serving on the basis of the substandard provisional credential In his report for 1950-1951 the United States Commissioner of Education was forced to state that one of every eight elementary teachers was serving on an emergency basis He estimated that more than 100,000 new elementary school teachers would be needed *every year for the next ten years* and that only one fifth of this required number was being produced by the nation's colleges and universities The

situation has not changed appreciably since Fully to meet the need for teachers, elementary and secondary, one half of *all* college graduates from 1955 to 1965 would have to enter teaching Since this is manifestly impossible, one of the most insistent problems confronting the nation is the matter of finding ways and means of providing the highest quality education with a teaching force which grows proportionately ever smaller

The Subject-Centered Approach. The operation of elementary schools can be discussed in terms of the three most prevalent approaches to the conduct of education at that level—the subject-centered, the child-centered, and the society-centered Although all schools can not be so classified, it is reasonably true that every elementary school will tend in one or another of these directions It should probably be added that these approaches are considered by many to hold equal relevance for secondary and even higher education We choose to consider them here as being peculiarly useful illustrations of the various types of elementary school operation The implications of this discussion for secondary schools and colleges should be obvious

The subject-centered approach is the application of a traditional philosophy of education to the elementary school Perhaps its most familiar label is the 3 R's In the terms used in Chapter 5, this approach might best be listed as a kind of classical essentialism We shall not repeat the elements of traditionalism there discussed except to note that, as the label indicates, the emphasis here is placed upon subject matter competence The elementary school which operates according to this orientation is concerned primarily (though not necessarily exclusively) with the imparting of information and the development of skills

This entails both a curricular and a methodological organization of considerable stability and permanence While it is almost a reflex for some to hail the 3 R's with great fervor, the reading, 'riting, and 'rithmetic to which this noble phrase was originally applied would no longer completely satisfy even the staunchest essentialist The 3 R's have grown to eight, or fourteen, or even twenty two, depending upon one's interpretation of fundamental education It seems safe to suggest

that an elementary school curriculum which followed the subject centered approach would include the following

Grammar—the study of language in a formal or systematic sense

Literature—development of the ability to read and the study of classical literature

Oral and written expression—speech, composition, and penmanship

Basic arithmetic—the ability to apply the fundamental number processes

In addition to the foregoing, the generally accepted essential program for the elementary school today would probably include

History—especially United States history

Geography

Civics or government

Nature study

Art—drawing painting, music

Physical education—or, at least physical exercise

Cooking, sewing manual training

As the list proceeds, one is more and more confronted with those subject areas less likely to be accepted as fundamental, more likely, therefore, to be cast aside as fads and frills. Thus the elementary school which adds work in foreign language or the study of transportation or of community life moves farther and farther away from the 3 R's because it then begins to stress elements other than subject matter in a purely factual sense.

Just as the subject centered approach involves a relatively predictable curricular organization for the elementary school, so too does it tend to elevate a definite methodology of instruction. If the objective is the mastery of skill or subject, certain mechanisms of teaching and learning are presumed to be most effective. For the teacher the presentation with clarity and simplicity of facts, techniques, formulas (for example, the multiplication table) is the pre-eminent function. For the learner mastery of data through memorization and of skills through practice is the underlying pedagogical principle. While the techniques and objectives characteristic of child-centered or society-centered education, which are presently to be noted, require facts, drill, even memory, the mechanics of subject centered education conspicuously disregard or

omit concern for social or emotional development, intellectual interest, and the like This is not to say that such omissions are either inevitable or regular, it is the tendency that is significant

The Child Centered Approach. That which is generally and loosely referred to as progressive education, the pedagogical reaction of the twentieth century against the formalized instruction just described, has seemed to follow two paths Both paths are traceable to the work and influence of John Dewey, both have their roots in the experimentalist philosophy Both involve basic reorientation of educational objectives from traditional subject-centered patterns, and both have been carried, all too frequently, to such excess that the very word "progressive" has become for many a term of opprobrium These two approaches are the "child-centered" approach and the "society-centered" approach, to use their common labels

The child-centered approach focuses the school around the individual child in an attempt to bring education into closer conformity with the disclosures of modern psychology These recent additions to our understanding of human behavior make it clear that no educational program can reach optimum effectiveness without considering such factors as individual differences, emotions, mental health, aptitudes, or home backgrounds A truly educational program must place its emphasis not upon subject matter mastery but upon individual personal development It is the child, after all, who is being taught—not subjects

By this interpretation the function of the school is one of encouraging and promoting individual growth of the *total* human organism Subjects as such lose their absolute pre-eminence and become rather vehicles for the development of a child's ability to *express himself* This logic inevitably means that a school's program must be extremely flexible, for that program, to cater to individuals, must be capable of variation As the interests and needs of children vary, develop, and mature, the emphases and content of his school work must change also Mastery of subject matter or skill in technique is subordinated to the larger and more inclusive goals of all round personal development.

What, then, of the curriculum in a child-centered school? Tailored.

presumably, to fit the needs of individual children, it is obviously not capable of any such clear-cut description as characterizes the subject matter approach. However, many, if not most, of the same subject areas will be present in the child-centered school, though of course in different forms and with much broader purposes envisioned for them. Reading, for example, will be integral to most if not all the program, but that reading will be (1) geared to the level of development and direction of interest of the individual child and (2) integrated or fused with learning experiences in many areas—geography or American History. The same might be noted for all the 3 R's.

A child-centered school demands a much more elaborate and more inclusive methodology than does the traditional subject matter approach. In large measure this hits at the two most crucial problems in child-centered teaching, for the lack of expert teaching is probably potentially more harmful in this type school than in any other. In the first place, though all good teaching is hard work and requires skill, patience, and sympathy, child-centered teaching would seem to require more of these qualities than other approaches. No uniform plans, patterns, or schedules are appropriate. Even books and facilities must be provided in terms of the individual's needs and interests. In the second place, the most skillful teaching is essential in order that basic learnings not be sacrificed to individual idiosyncrasy.

The Society-Centered Approach The second direction taken by progressive education can be called the society-centered approach. As with the child-centered emphasis, this too is a reaction against the stress on subject matter. In society-centered or socially directed education the central theme is not the learning of subjects or skills in a vacuum, as is frequently the case with a subject matter approach. The central theme is the learning of subjects and skills for and in terms of social purposes with a view to their sociocivic and occupational usefulness. At the same time, a society-centered orientation is also a reaction against what has seemed to many persons the extreme individualism characterizing much of child-centered education. The objective is in effect preparation for social living, for participation in community life, for the assumption of the responsibilities which are integral to the health of a democracy.

A socially directed curriculum would be one into which subjects were introduced on the basis of their relevance to the life of the community local, regional, national, and global. Again, the fundamentals are still the most important elements in the system, but they are taught for different, for more broadly based reasons. To cite reading once more reading is taught with an eye to its political or civic utility, as in the handling of newspapers or advertising, reading is also taught, in this context, with concern for its recreational or leisure time potential. Whereas the child-centered school is more likely to operate from a more-or less flexible, readily altered curriculum, it appears that a society-centered curriculum will have a larger degree of stability, of tangibly organized subject matter, of social purposefulness. If the ultimate purpose is to prepare youth to live in a society, certain aspects of that society's make up take on the character of fundamentals. The curriculum, as one would expect, gives primary emphasis to the *social* studies the studies of man in his relations with other men and with his environment. At the elementary level this means that the bases for instruction are, not the data or the tables laid out and to be learned but the contemporary social, economic and civic areas of life with which children are familiar. History is studied not so much as history per se but as a means of more fully understanding contemporary phenomena, air transportation, for example, or relations with other countries.

Methodology, too, in a socially directed educational program must differ from that employed in either of the other types. Learning for social application necessitates learning in a social situation. Teaching method becomes in considerable part a matter of creating the conditions conducive to effective *group* learning and of encouraging participation in such situations. A teacher's function in this type of education involves considerable emphasis on the development of feelings of group or community responsibility and on his stimulating or challenging expressions of leadership from his students. In sum, this is held to require that the skills and subjects essential and relevant to social living can be learned only as experiences in social living are provided. A class in personal health constitutes a fully effective *social* educational effort only as the students participate in some larger public health

endeavor. A class in nature study or earth sciences becomes *socially* meaningful as it is related to the general problem of conservation.

The Need for Balance. Clearly, for purposes of illustration and clarity, these three brief sketches represent gross oversimplification. Few would deny that each approach—subject centered, child-centered, society-centered—represents much of value, indeed each contains essential elements for the promotion of democratic living. Moreover, one would be altogether accurate were he to point out that the most effective schools in the United States pay serious attention to all three approaches. Finally, it is clear to the point of banality that these three orientations represent objectives toward which all good teachers, consciously or unconsciously, are striving.

This can be granted, yet grave danger still exists. This is the danger of imbalance among the three. All three of these general (and there are, of course, countless special) variations really have much in common in terms of the subject matter they employ and in terms of ultimate devotion, in the United States, to democracy. Their differences, and the dangers, lie largely in their emphases.

Everyone is familiar with the cry, rarely documented, that modern education produces great hordes of nonreaders, nonspellers, nonmultipliers, and so on. Everyone is aware of the degree to which, at least in some schools, individual interest or passing fancy has been carried to ridiculous, absurd, and wholly noneducational extremes. No one needs to be reminded of occasions in schools dominated by the subject matter emphasis when passive (not to say hostile) absorption of material produced results exactly the opposite of those intended and claimed. (As just one example, consider the forced "learning" of certain literary "classics.") And surely, in times like these, few will fail to recognize the potential danger inherent in an educational emphasis which is excessively social in orientation.

The danger, again, lies in imbalance. The crucial educational task, and it is probably most critical at the elementary level, is that of devising a program which utilizes the recognized and genuine values basic to all these various approaches and which harmonizes them in sound relationship to one another. The best teaching of subject matter, in all probability, is done by teachers who, knowingly or unknowingly,

recognize individual differences, are concerned about emotional problems among students, and hold what we might well call democratic pedagogical principles. The most effective social learnings emerge out of and in turn feed into genuine, relevant subject matter and skill learnings. Reciprocation is inevitable, proportion is essential.

In their notable *Middletown* studies, the Lynds report that over the past thirty years the American attitude toward elementary (and secondary) education has gone "conservatively progressive." Today considerable pressure for a "return to the 3 R's" and wholesale disavowals of "progressive education" are evident. But equally clearly, there is widespread belief in a subscription to much that goes beyond the 3 R's and is part and parcel of progressive education. While there is little support or sympathy for elementary (even less for secondary) school programs based wholly on individual needs and the idea of complete freedom for the child, there is, nevertheless, much from the progressive movement which seems to have gained recognition and permanence. Paul Woodring clarifies the current situation when he states that American education at mid-century "is evolving not *toward* progressive education but *past* it." We must capitalize upon the best which each approach affords, avoid the excesses which are all too easily and frequently committed in the name of fundamentals, individualism, or social unity, and strive always to provide that kind of education which our democratic principles demand.

* * *

This chapter has attempted to sketch the salient features in the development of American elementary education and to indicate some thing of its current status and direction. It is to be noted that from the modest beginnings of the informal dame school elementary education has expanded both upward and downward, resulting in the creation of the junior high school, the kindergarten, and most recently the nursery school. As was foreshadowed in the discussions of educational philosophy, there exist basic differences of opinion as to the primary emphases toward which elementary education should be directed. Ranging from exclusive emphasis upon subject matter to exclusive concern for individual or social development, the elementary

school is today the center of vehement, sometimes bitter controversy. It is our contention that the only sound and defensible program of elementary education is one which exemplifies intelligent correlation and balance of these essentially complementary objectives

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

BASIC QUESTION How would you express the basic or primary functions of the elementary institutions here considered? Is it possible to refine this generalization with respect to the peculiar functions of (1) nursery schools (2) kindergartens, (3) elementary schools, and (4) junior high schools?

1. How do you account for the following in the history of elementary education in the United States?

- a The fact that the elementary school teacher has traditionally been regarded as being of less importance than teachers at other levels
- b The fact that free, public, tax supported education developed earliest and with the greatest strength in the colonies and states of New England
- c The fact that progressive education made its greatest impact upon the elementary school rather than upon high school or college

2 What are the basic fallacies contained in the oft repeated cry "Let's get back to the 3 Rs"? Does the demand have any validity at all?

3 There are those who maintain that the elementary school should not be held responsible for such matters as character training or the development of appropriately democratic attitudes that the elementary school has all it can do to train children in the mastery of the fundamentals. Is this a valid, defensible contention?

4 Is there any evidence to show that attendance at preschool institutions enhances the value and effectiveness of the elementary school experience? At what age should children be sent to such institutions? Why?

5 What are some of the more important trends in the conduct of elementary education? What arguments are advanced in their defense? At what points or in what areas is there room for debate?

6 How many children attend elementary school today? What proportion is this of the total elementary school age group? What proportion of children of this age group completes eight years of schooling? From statistical data of this sort, what generalizations about elementary education in the United States today are warranted?

- 7 What are some of the most prevalent classroom procedures currently being employed to compensate for the shortage of qualified teachers in elementary schools? From an educational standpoint, how are these practices regarded?

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Secondary Education

The History of Secondary Education in the United States

IN THE YEAR 1950-1951 there were 6,149,000 students enrolled in the secondary schools of the United States, of this number, approximately 541,000, or slightly more than 8 percent, were enrolled in private secondary schools. To serve this vast number of youth, over 28,000 high and preparatory schools were in operation. How did this extensive program of secondary education develop? Its history is most easily summarized by reference to the three basic types of secondary schools which America has promoted: the Latin grammar school, the academy, and the public high school.

The Latin Grammar School. We have already noted the educational traditions and experiences with which the colonists came to the American continent. To the concern for religious literacy which expressed itself in New England in the establishment of the first elementary schools must now be added a second Puritan commitment. Fearing that life in the New England wilderness might contribute to a decline in religious fervor, the Puritan colonists early felt it necessary to take steps to ensure that they would not lack religious leadership. This urge took the form of the establishment of collegiate educational institutions and of institutions of secondary grade which would prepare students for work at the college level. Both secondary and collegiate education were viewed originally as that kind of schooling

which was necessary for the training and preparation of Puritan ministers

So, in Boston in 1635, was founded the first American secondary school, the Latin grammar school. The very name indicates the emphasis and direction of the curriculum with theological training as the basic aim. This school was organized around those subjects or disciplines thought most appropriate for such an objective Calvinist theology and religious history, and those languages especially Latin and Greek, in which that theology and history were recorded constituted the substance of the school's program. It is clear that the secondary school, as first typified by the Latin grammar school, was conceived entirely as a college preparatory institution.

It is significant that the first secondary school represented a further indication of the growing feeling of public responsibility for education. Just as the Massachusetts School Laws of 1642 and 1647 operated to encourage and foster the growth of public elementary education, so did they place the authority of the colony behind secondary education as well. While it is true that the early Latin grammar schools were supported almost entirely by tuition and only minimally by public taxation, the second of those laws nevertheless had required the establishment of such schools in the larger Massachusetts towns. From the outset the Latin grammar schools were public in the sense that they were closed to none on arbitrary social or economic grounds but were available to all who could afford the tuition. This meant that such schools were in reality accessible only to the sons of the well-to-do with the resultant reinforcement of the classical theological curriculum by the prestige of wealth. But it was this approach to and conception of secondary education which thousands upon thousands of emigrants from the Atlantic seaboard carried westward, and wherever new roots were put down—in Ohio, Iowa, or California—the ideals of the Latin grammar school were also firmly implanted.

While other institutional forms have eclipsed the Latin grammar school in the surge of American support for public secondary education, it would be incorrect in the extreme to dismiss the school or its influence as a thing of the past. Until the second quarter of the nineteenth century this school remained the chief, and in some areas the

only, route to college and university work, and, as such, its prestige was considerable. Today, in the private preparatory schools (of New England particularly) and in the academic curricula offered by almost every high school in the country, there are visible the contemporary descendants of this early conception of secondary education.

The Academy But while the Latin grammar school gained in acceptance and support, New England itself was changing. Originally agrarian in outlook, the New England colonist was powerless to resist natural attractions and advantages which seemed to promise a fuller and more profitable life. Shipping and shipbuilding, commerce and trade, banking and manufacturing began to develop and to grow. As such interests manifested themselves, the hold of a narrow theology grew ever less pronounced and less complete. What, then, became of the school designed to cater exclusively to the spiritual needs of the community?

As the economic and professional horizons of New England began to broaden, new and unprecedented educational needs inevitably emerged. Clearly the classical theological emphasis of the conventional secondary school could not meet the demands or cater to the interests of those destined for a career other than the ministry. Little by little teachers and schools appeared deliberately geared to the satisfaction of these new interests. Classes in navigation, surveying, mathematics, and accounting were instituted, first on the initiative of individual teachers in those fields, later in the form of organized classroom or school instruction. Out of this complex of new demands and interests a new and uniquely American school, the academy, was born.

While a sizable number of schools which could rightly be called academies had been in operation earlier, Benjamin Franklin's proposal in 1749 for the establishment of such a school in Philadelphia well summarizes the general conception of the function of an academy. In his *Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania* Franklin wrote "As to their studies, it would be well if they could be taught everything that is useful and everything that is ornamental. But art is long and their time is short. It is therefore proposed that they learn those things that are likely to be most useful and most ornamental, regard being had to the several professions for which

they are intended." Such a school, responding to the needs of a rising mercantile industrial middle class and offering instruction to bridge the gap between the elementary school and the college, necessarily was organized around a much liberalized view of the curriculum. Now closer to more of the people than was the Latin grammar school, the academy offered English, natural and physical sciences, history, modern foreign languages, and mathematics. Added to these were such practical courses as were previously mentioned, for example, surveying, and, ever more frequently, courses for young women such as home economics and training for elementary school teaching.

Although the academies were almost entirely under private control, they, nevertheless, constituted a genuine reflection of the growing democratic attitude toward education which was characteristic of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Their private character was enhanced by liberal public policy, evidenced in tax exemptions, special grants of public funds, and endowments of land or other properties. Many were under denominational control, but many too were established by individuals or private companies completely free of outside domination. Though most academies were tuition schools, they were generally within reach of those who were truly interested in education beyond the rudiments. These features—an expanded curriculum, a wider clientele, a degree of public support, and a tendency to break with sectarianism, substantiate the view that the academy constituted the vital link in the transition from the Latin grammar school to the public high school.

The Public High School. The first genuinely public secondary school, public in the sense of tax support and availability to all, was established in Boston in 1821. This, the Boston English High School, was designed primarily to provide a continuation of common schooling for those not intending to pursue collegiate studies. Its very name conveys much of the nonclassical, practical philosophy which had proved so successful in the academies and which had become ever more markedly the intellectual spirit of the times. Here was an "English" rather than a "Latin" school, a "high" school designed to augment and deepen the fundamental learnings which were provided in the "lower" schools.

That the success of this innovation was instantaneous is demonstrated by the passage of legislation in Massachusetts only six years later (1827) requiring towns of five hundred or more families to set up and maintain public high schools. This new institution represented a fundamental break with the Old World tradition of socially stratified education, the tradition of elementary education for the masses and secondary education for the aristocracy. As such, it carried tremendous appeal for the mobile and fluid society of the frontier. Slowly but surely during the second quarter of the nineteenth century the public high school gained acceptance, gradually supplanting the academy as the chief agency of secondary, or postelementary, education.

It was not until after the Civil War that growth in high school enrollments reached notable proportions. As with the elementary school, the question of public support for secondary education was not settled without a struggle. From the inception of the idea of the public high school until the Kalamazoo case in 1874, the contribution of tax moneys for education beyond the rudiments was resisted. As before (and since—note the contemporary debates on federal aid to education) it was argued that one's responsibility for his fellow man did not extend to paying for the education of his children. Particularly was this true, it was held, when the education was of an advanced, more specialized, and less socially useful character. In school district after school district, in state after state, the debate was repeated, inevitably with the same result: the establishment of public secondary education. While the question was not then finally settled, the public high school received full legal status by a decision of the famous jurist Thomas M. Cooley in 1874. Speaking to the charge that the school district of Kalamazoo, Michigan, had no right to levy taxes for the maintenance of a high school, the judge noted that the state had established both elementary schools and a university. "The inference seems irresistible [wrote Cooley] that the people expected the tendency towards the establishment of high schools in the primary school districts would continue until every locality capable of supporting one was supplied."¹ Free public schools at the bottom of the ladder and at the

¹ *Stuart v. School District No. 1 of the Village of Kalamazoo* 30 Michigan 69

top would seem clearly and unequivocally to require an intermediate school equally free

The immediately subsequent decades saw increases in high school enrollments which stand as eloquent testimony to the general acceptance of the new institution. In 1870 1871, 80,227 pupils were enrolled in 160 public (and private) high schools, in 1880, the corresponding figures were 110,277 and approximately 800, in 1890, 202,963 and 2,500, and in 1900, 519,251 pupils in 6,000 schools. By 1955, there were some 7,500,000 students enrolled in nearly 24,000 public and over 3,300 private secondary schools. It is expected that by 1965 there will be approximately 12 million young people in secondary schools, roughly twice the number attending high school in 1945.

In a very real sense the modern public high school represents a synthesis of the three types of secondary institutions here discussed for, as we shall note, the high school of today attempts to cater to the needs and demands previously served by its predecessors. At the same time, new and broader conceptions of the role of secondary education have been continually introduced so that today's high school is in truth far greater than the sum of its parts.

The Purposes of Secondary Education

As the foregoing brief history should suggest, the form and sponsorship of American secondary education have undergone basic change as the concept of the *purpose* of that education has been revised and reoriented. Historically the conflict over this purpose clearly has remained one between the college preparatory and 'preparation for life' functions. The earliest secondary schools were exclusively and entirely of the college preparatory variety, first as schools of a preministerial character and later as preprofessional institutions with a broader scope. These were followed by schools with, originally, a vocational emphasis; the academy was at first primarily a terminal institution, specifically catering to those not intending to proceed to college. (Later, of course, the academy took on much of the spirit and philosophy of the classical grammar school, in some instances to the point where the two were indistinguishable.)

The purpose of the high school, as originally conceived by its Boston founders, was one of providing a broad, general education, cultural and practical, to the noncollege preparatory student. In this respect the high school was in large part a continuation of the academy movement with public support. It early developed, however, that public support for the college preparatory student was almost equally popular and certainly equally defensible. Particularly after the founding of state colleges and universities, and with the logic of the Kalamazoo decision in support, did it seem sound to establish college preparatory curricula in the high schools. The result was that almost from the outset the American public high school has attempted to cater to the needs and interests of both groups.

Although the expressed function of the high school continued to involve this dual objective, by 1900 the college preparatory feature had become altogether dominant in secondary school curricula. As the enrollment in high schools increased at unprecedented rates, the conception of the purpose of secondary education grew more restricted. This domination of high schools by the precollege curriculum, which was and is thought by many to be the most effective kind of secondary education, can be explained by several factors. Perhaps the chief of these were (1) the prestige of a classical education in a society suddenly the possessor of great wealth and power, (2) the diversity of possible demands upon secondary schools and the feeling of need for some central core or thread, and (3) the tendency of the colleges and universities to prescribe extensive entrance requirements.

Current discussions of the role of the high school are, in essence, continuations of this same perennial controversy. Debates today over life adjustment education as contrasted with the academic curriculum do not sound unfamiliar to the student of educational history, nor indeed are they markedly different from the various approaches to education previously discussed. In considerable measure contemporary commitments regarding the purpose of secondary education reflect basically traditional or experimentalist points of view. Similarly, one is confronted with an extension, at least at several points, of the differing orientations for elementary education represented by the "subject-centered" and "child-centered" approaches.

tional curriculum. In other cases general education becomes a scattered, dispersed, superficial contact with areas "in general." Genuine general education, however, tries to correlate, organize, or integrate those areas of knowledge and experience which are essential elements in a successful life, regardless of vocation. Such an objective, of course, is by no means limited to the terminal student; it is equally appropriate for the prospective college student. Nevertheless, the college preparatory student, as in times past, continues to find his high school experience governed for the most part by the requirements for college entrance. Whether these are general or vocational in nature will vary with the individual's choice of college and his field of special interest.

Preprofessional education in the high school can be general and is usually at least partially vocationally directed. It presupposes, however, attendance at some higher educational institution. As a result, it represents for the most part the high school's response to requirements imposed from outside rather than a conception of function developed by the high school itself. Later in this chapter we shall examine certain aspects of the problem of effectively articulating high school and college work. The preprofessional or college preparatory function in secondary schools continues to loom larger than all the others, despite the preponderance of need for other emphases on the part of the majority of high school students. Indeed, the school codes of several states provide that an academic or precollege course must be offered in every high-school district. The problem at this point is not necessarily the abolition or abandonment of specific college entrance requirements, though some would have it so and certain colleges and universities specify none. The primary difficulty is one of arriving at a proper ratio of emphasis as between the academic role of the high school and its other responsibilities.

The modern high school, especially the so-called comprehensive type, attempts to meet all three demands. But to these must be added a fourth, a function which has no clear-cut label but which we have called *personal development education*. To be sure, terminal, general, and preprofessional education are all concerned with personal development, and any sound education in those areas will contribute immeasurably to the growth of emotional stability, social consciousness and

poise, and the like. But the modern high school, unlike its nineteenth and early twentieth-century predecessors, makes this concern *explicit*. Along with and equally important as academic or vocational education are those experiences which are designed to foster creative expression, esthetic appreciation, social or community responsibility, and individual initiative and self-confidence. Without such concerns as these, it is felt, the high school would fail its students and its society. There are those for whom this represents the height of educational folly as constituting a responsibility beyond the power of the school to handle. But they seem not to find favor with majority opinion and increasingly these areas become conscious aspects of secondary school activity.

"Life-Adjustment Education?" Few high schools will have wished, or found it possible, to abandon any of these four basic obligations. Yet, despite the widespread adoption and application of these several functions, the fundamental controversy regarding the ultimate purpose of a high school education continues. In recent years growing concern has been expressed regarding the adequacy of secondary education, with greatest stress falling upon a few particular questions. Are the high schools tending to prepare youth for jobs without regard for job opportunities? Is a significant proportion of high school youth being mishandled by the college preparatory emphasis which prevails in so many schools? Have we failed to devise and develop a meaningful functional secondary school program for the great majority (which some place as high as 60 percent) who are not college material yet for whom specific vocational training is best provided on the job, in shop, plant, or office?

In 1944 the Educational Policies Commission published its statement of policy for high schools under the title *Education for All American Youth*. This pronouncement, stressing the importance for high school youth of citizenship education, occupational preparation, and education to promote high intellectual, esthetic, and ethical standards led to the creation in 1947 of a Commission on Life Adjustment Education for Youth. This commission with the backing of the United States Office of Education and the National Association of Secondary School Principals, has attacked the problem of devising a suitable high school program. Typical of the results of such thinking is the follow-

ing statement of secondary school purpose which appears under the title "The Imperative Needs of Youth"³

*The Common and Essential Needs That All Youth Have
in a Democratic Society*

- 1 All youth need to develop salable skills and those understandings and attitudes that make the worker an intelligent and productive participant in economic life To this end, most youth need supervised work experience as well as education in the skills and knowledge of their occupations
- 2 All youth need to develop and maintain good health and physical fitness
- 3 All youth need to understand the rights and duties of the citizen, and to be diligent and competent in the performance of their obligations as members of the community and citizens of the state and nation.
- 4 All youth need to understand the significance of the family for the individual and society and the conditions conducive to successful family life
- 5 All youth need to know how to purchase and use goods and services intelligently, understanding both the values received by the consumer and the economic consequences of their acts
- 6 All youth need to understand the methods of science, the influence of science on human life, and the main scientific facts concerning the nature of the world and of man
- 7 All youth need opportunities to develop their capacities to appreciate beauty in literature, art, music, and nature
- 8 All youth need to be able to use their leisure time well and to budget it wisely, balancing activities that yield satisfactions to the individual with those that are socially useful
- 9 All youth need to develop respect for other persons, to grow in their insight into ethical values and principles, and to be able to live and work cooperatively with others
- 10 All youth need to grow in their ability to think rationally, to express their thoughts clearly, and to read and listen with understanding

³ Reproduced by permission of the National Association of Secondary School Principals.

Obviously such a statement of purpose for the high school partakes of all four basic functions of secondary education. But the emphasis is clearly different from and broader than any one of them. The fundamental disagreement which has been engendered by such proposals as this is well epitomized by an exchange of views in two recent magazine articles. In discussing the critical need for a new direction for the high-school program, one writer tells the story of Marty, "who never seemed to 'belong' in high school"

Algebra and Latin were hopelessly dull for him, he hated his teachers, and his attitude didn't help his marks. On his sixteenth birthday, as soon as his state law allowed, Marty happily quit school.

He got a job as a pin boy in a bowling alley. Injured with a flying pin, he quit. He drifted from one dead end job to another, continually meeting employers' rebuffs. "I'm sorry, son, I need a high school graduate for this job."

Presently Marty fell in with an easy money crowd, and before long he helped hold up a neighborhood druggist. He was handed a gun and in a moment of terror used it.

As Marty awaited sentence, one of his former teachers, reading the story in the paper, reflected "I was a big help to that boy. I taught him Tennyson and compound verbs"⁴

Responding to this charge of the inadequacy of the traditional high-school program, a college professor defended "Tennyson and compound verbs" and blasted the new approach as vapid and unsound.

It [life adjustment education] is continuing the same course of wild claims, blanket condemnation of "traditional" subjects, anti intellectualism, and contempt for "book learning" that have characterized its predecessors for more than a quarter of a century. It will pass, as unlauded as "Progressive" education, which proved to be such a flop, after the educational "lunatic fringe" gained control of what started out as a worthy program, that even the Progressive Education Association thought it wise to change its name. But we must expect that for a time, until the next educational slogan comes along to masquerade

⁴ Jack Harrison Pollack, 'Why Kids Quit School,' *This Week* (Aug. 8, 1949), p. 4. Courtesy of J. H. Pollack. Reprinted from *This Week* magazine, copyright 1949 by United Newspapers Magazine Corporation.

as an educational 'discovery' of revolutionary proportions, "Life Adjustment Education" will attract some editors and give its proponents the attention publicity hounds always crave

The tear jerker is a paragraph about 'Marty'. . . . The implication of the personal responsibility of that teacher (not forgetting Tennyson and compound verbs) for Marty's inevitable end is unmistakable Also unmistakable is the old technique that underlies such educational flapdoodle But we who know the value of good books, of Shakespeare and Milton, yes of Chaucer, even of *Silas Marner* . . . of Latin and algebra, and modern foreign languages, and history, and sequential study of a serious kind in whatever field, may be forgiven if we sometimes show just a little irritation when the "traditional" subjects are made the scapegoat, by implication at least, for the bad end of a bad boy⁵

Once more the basic cleavage in educational philosophy is apparent At every level, in every department of the educational enterprise, this fundamental conflict must be seen and understood It is not the function of this chapter, or this volume, to attempt to resolve this controversy It is, however, appropriate to present and consider the divergent points of view in the hope that improved policies will emerge as a result of increased understanding of the issues involved It is well to note that for many the questions of purpose for the high school represent the most crucial and critical educational problems of our time⁶

The Operation of the American High School

Organization. The conventional school pattern in the United States provides an eight year elementary school and a four year high school (8-4) Since early in this century an intermediate or junior high school has been introduced which reduces the elementary school to six years

⁵ Henry Grattan Doyle Educational Trends Including a Plea for the Interest of the Research Scholar *PMLA Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 1949 Proceedings Vol LXV No 1 (February 1950) p 19 Used by permission

⁶ One of the most significant recent appraisals of the life adjustment orientation is to be found in Arthur E. Bestor's *The Restoration of Learning* (New York Knopf 1955)

and leaves the three top years to the high school (6-3-3). More recently, with the establishment of junior colleges many school systems have developed a pattern which, while leaving the elementary school at six years, combines the junior high school with the first two high-school years (grades 7, 8, 9, and 10) and establishes the last two years of high school as the first two years of the junior college (grades 11, 12, 13, and 14). This plan (6-4-4) is held by many to provide more effective transition and integration among the various levels, but it is well to note that, as with any educational innovation, while old problems may have been effectively overcome, new problems have been created. Indeed, there are some systems which, having tried one or another of the structural revisions, are returning to a more conventional arrangement. In passing, it should be noted that this is but one of an infinite number of points at which American educators are engaged in a continuous process of experimentation. It is often difficult for the layman to understand the ceaseless movement and change which characterize American school practice. This phenomenon is the manifestation of the perennial search for better techniques, more effective practices. In a word it typifies an unwillingness to indulge in complacent acceptance.

As our historical survey indicates, the secondary school began and has more or less continued to stand as a college preparatory institution. Since the turn of the century, and especially in the larger cities, there has been something of a tendency to organize separate high schools in terms of the particular functions of secondary education. The result has been the establishment of vocational, commercial, or technical high schools, sometimes of agricultural high schools, separated from each other and from the strictly academic high school. Where this type of arrangement has been tried, it has apparently been received with mixed emotions. While it does allow for greater specialization and for concentration upon particular types of interests or skills, this pattern tends also to isolate group from group, to create islands of youth. Inevitably, too, in many communities such separated high schools have developed into hierarchies with the greatest prestige or status awarded to one type (usually the college preparatory) and minimal recognition granted to others.

For many such a situation smacks too much of the class stratified

educational patterns characteristic of nondemocratic nations. Increasingly secondary education in the contemporary United States is tending toward the comprehensive or general high school type. This sort of school attempts to provide for the needs of all youth, insofar as practicable and possible, while affording them the broad social contacts of a heterogeneous school community. This is by no means a complete answer. One of the unsolved, and perhaps here intensified, problems is the matter of adequately and effectively serving the exceptionally brilliant youth. In a high school of the comprehensive type he is often lost in the shuffle. But it is in just such areas that the challenge of education lies.

Curriculum. Much of a discussion of the secondary school curriculum has been anticipated by our consideration of the history and purposes of secondary education. The continued centrality of the college preparatory program, the growing stress upon education for democratic citizenship, and the perhaps diminishing emphasis upon vocational education in the high school have already been noted. It is well nigh impossible to generalize about the specifics of high school curricula, for the combination of local and state graduation requirements with the various prescriptions for college entrance means that there can be no genuinely typical pattern. Couple this factor with the operation, in separate schools or in the metropolitan high school, of the several variant curricula, and it is evident that any attempt to formulate a picture of the high school curriculum would be of small service. Probably every high school in the country offers courses in English, but does this include literature (English and/or American), journalism, creative writing, formal grammar, public speaking? And for whom are such courses designed? Are they required or elective? Similar questions could be raised for any area.

We shall not attempt to present a synthetic American high school curriculum. It does seem appropriate to note the major factors which have conditioned or stimulated basic revisions in the curriculum and to indicate the direction these revisions have taken.

THE HIGH SCHOOL AND COLLEGE ENTRANCE. Prime conditioner of the high school curriculum has been the college or university. In prescribing entrance requirements higher institutions have often been held

responsible for freezing or restricting the secondary schools. It should be remembered that the imposition of entrance requirements also operated to unify and professionalize the curricular arrangements of the early high schools, as well as to raise the standards of their teaching. Since the first high schools were unavoidably highly variable in standards and performance, colleges were forced to establish certain requirements for admission. As the colleges in turn were anything but uniform in the requirements they set, reform was essential. This situation produced the beginnings of accreditation, the systematizing of the process of high school preparation for college entrance.

In brief, accreditation has gone through three stages, all of which have their advocates today. At first colleges banded together on a local or regional basis for the purpose of "accrediting," or examining with a view to acceptance, the work of individual high schools. Graduates from schools so approved were admitted upon recommendation of the high school principal. Later the need of uniform college entrance standards was felt with the result that a College Entrance Examination Board was established. This board was instituted to prepare and administer an examination to persons seeking admission to college or university, and colleges were encouraged to accept the results of such examinations as valid evidence of probable success in college work. This system has received wide acclaim and popular support, it continues today as the major screening device employed by higher institutions. Third, however, since neither of the first plans ensured that a student would come to college with a definite subject matter background, colleges and universities devised specific course requirements. To clarify a confused situation, the National Education Association appointed Committees on College Entrance in 1899 and 1911. These committees proposed the pattern which, with some modifications, has been used by many colleges ever since. Essentially, this scheme sets up a fifteen unit schedule of courses to be covered in high school. The fifteen units include three in English, one in social science, one in a natural science, three in each of two major fields, two in a minor field, and two elective units. However, eleven of the fifteen must be units in English, foreign language, science, and mathematics. Thus, the high-school student anticipating entrance into a college following this pat-

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In brief, accreditation has gone through three stages, all of which have their advocates today. At first colleges banded together on a local or regional basis for the purpose of 'accrediting,' or examining with a view to acceptance, the work of individual high schools. Graduates from schools so approved were admitted upon recommendation of the high school principal. Later the need of uniform college entrance standards was felt with the result that a College Entrance Examination Board was established. This board was instituted to prepare and administer an examination to persons seeking admission to college or university, and colleges were encouraged to accept the results of such examinations as valid evidence of probable success in college work. This system has received wide acclaim and popular support; it continues today as the major screening device employed by higher institutions. Third, however, since neither of the first plans ensured that a student would come to college with a definite subject matter background, colleges and universities devised specific course requirements. To clarify a confused situation, the National Education Association appointed Committees on College Entrance in 1899 and 1911. These committees proposed the pattern which, with some modifications, has been used by many colleges ever since. Essentially, this scheme sets up a fifteen unit schedule of courses to be covered in high school. The fifteen units include three in English, one in social science, one in a natural science, three in each of two major fields, two in a minor field, and two elective units. However, eleven of the fifteen must be units in English, foreign language, science, and mathematics. Thus, the high school student anticipating entrance into a college following this pat-

tern is faced with a largely prescribed program. It is significant too that the requirements listed weigh most heavily in favor of the linguistic and classical fields.

In recent years the question of the validity of college entrance requirements has been rather insistently raised. Considerable doubt has been expressed as to whether or not success in college is predicated upon a particular pattern of high school courses. Most noteworthy in this regard are the disclosures of the Eight Year Study conducted under the auspices of the Progressive Education Association during the 1930's. Objecting to the traditional practice of prescribing specific college entrance requirements, this group undertook to test the effectiveness of those requirements. Thirty high schools from all parts of the country and a number of higher institutions agreed to cooperate in an experiment. The colleges and universities agreed to accept graduates from the thirty high schools without regard to the fulfillment of specific course requirements but simply upon the recommendation of the principal. At the end of the eight years, during which time the students involved had gone through the full high school and under graduate college programs, their records in college were compared with those of students for whom the regular entrance requirements had been retained. While the Eight Year Study does not seem to show that either group's performance was significantly superior *academically*, thus again raising the question of the need for a required high school program, the study does tend to indicate a superior *social and personal* college experience for those less rigidly or more progressively trained in high school. Although the matter of college preparation still tends to dominate much of high school curricular planning, there is increasing concern that the high school become much more than a precollege institution. That the colleges themselves are growing more aware of this vital problem is eloquently demonstrated by the justly famous Harvard Report, *General Education in a Free Society* (Harvard University Press, 1945), at once a landmark in the development of more effective educational policy and a sample of the best in pedagogical prose.

At the same time, and as something of a counterpoise to the "life adjustment" tendencies earlier noted, concern for the above average,

gifted, college and-profession-bound youth has steadily mounted. Many have referred to the brilliant high-school student, forced to live at a pace set by his intellectual inferiors, as a member of the most underprivileged minority in America and ever more insistent has been the cry that the special attention to which he is entitled is long overdue. The debate as to how the superior student should be handled is not new, nor has it by any means been resolved, but certain developments within recent years demonstrate that the question has never before been so resolutely faced.

The means proposed for serving the more gifted student more effectively are many and varied. They range from suggestions that the United States adopt the English pattern of separate high schools for the able few to experiments with admission into college after completion of the ninth or tenth grade. Perhaps the most significant attempt to meet this need is the Advanced Placement Program, a venture in which a number of leading colleges and universities have joined with high schools to provide secondary-school offerings at the level of the superior student.

This program, the product of a study sponsored by the Ford Foundation's Fund for the Advancement of Education, proceeded from two assumptions: (1) an important segment of high school youth has the capacity to handle collegiate study effectively, but (2) socially, emotionally, and physically, the bright high school student is probably not ready to enter college. The Advanced Placement Program is, therefore, an arrangement to allow the superior high school student to take work for college credit while still in high school. It involves cooperative design and administration of courses and examinations on the part of secondary schools and colleges. By 1956 the idea had spread across the country and had been enthusiastically adopted by a large number of educational institutions. Many authorities felt that here was a scheme which offered more substantial opportunity to the gifted student than any proposal in decades and that, at the same time, such a program could do much to "raise the sights" of the American secondary school from overpreoccupation with the average or mediocre.

THE HIGH SCHOOL IN A NEW AGE. High school curricula may have been shaped largely by the institutional policies of colleges and uni-

versities, but other forces were making themselves felt. It is not pure accident that the enactment of the first state legislation dealing with public secondary education (Massachusetts, 1827) coincides with the accession of Andrew Jackson to the presidency. Someone has called the American high school the college of democracy, and so it has been in considerable measure since its inception.

The high school has had to grow with and adapt to the times. Colleges may have insisted on requiring Greek and Latin for admission; society was insisting with equal vigor that American history, manual training, health and physical education, or American literature belonged in the high school curriculum. A commitment to support secondary education for everyone meant an equally strong commitment to supply everyone with an *appropriate* education. It is this commitment which accounts for the several fitful, experimental, sometimes wasteful approaches to a sound secondary school philosophy, some of which we have discussed. It is this commitment which keeps us ever alert for new and better ways of making the high school serve the uses of democracy.

Paralleling the development of the democratic orientation for secondary education, especially since the 1870's and 1880's, has been the application to secondary (and elementary) teaching of the findings of modern psychology. It is of no small consequence that these disclosures strengthened the claims of those who advocated greater democratization of the high school. Indeed, at some points one can hardly distinguish the pressure for more democracy from the dictates of the new science of human behavior.

Two examples will suffice to illustrate the degree to which the study of psychology was a force of great weight in shaping the design of the modern high school. In the first place, modern psychology early in this century upset the basic preconception of traditional secondary education—mental discipline. The nineteenth-century high school was operated on the assumption that the study of particular subjects would "discipline the mind." This theory held that the study of Greek or grammar, for example, would contribute markedly and effectively to one's success in other fields, music or business management, let us say.

This hypothesis, usually referred to as the principle of transfer of training, became the basis for requiring the study of much that was held to be "good for you" (It is interesting yet sad to note that, in large part, such subjects as Greek, Latin, or geometry are still defended on this logic rather than on their merits. How much more meaningful it would be to present the value of the study of Latin in cultural, historical, and esthetic terms rather than insisting upon its disciplinary value.) The disclosures of modern psychology were and are such as to demonstrate conclusively that the effectiveness of the process of transfer had been highly exaggerated, that the assumption of its automatic operation was unfounded, and that the subjects with which it had been traditionally associated were not necessarily the most transferable. The effects of these findings upon the high school curriculum were twofold: the disciplinary subjects lost ground, and new areas hitherto considered peripheral or unnecessary assumed a more important position. As an illustration, consider the shift in emphasis which has occurred between formal grammar and civics.

In the second place, as we noted in the chapter on elementary education, modern psychology developed the concept of individual differences. The effects of this new insight on the high school curriculum are readily discernible. As early as 1911 when the basic pattern for college entrance course requirements was established, differences in individual interest, inclination, and ability were recognized by the inclusion of unspecified majors and minors. The several types of high schools in themselves, or the various curricula within one comprehensive high school, represent subscription to the conception that individuals are different and require different treatment. The extent to which a high school program allows for the election of courses is again evidence of this policy. It is worth noting, finally, that the principle of individual differences is, after all, scientific support for a fundamental democratic ideal. This is but one of many instances in which science and democracy have worked together as reformers of educational theory and practice.

METHODOLOGY Small space is needed to indicate the basic reforms and reorientation in methodology which have typified the emerging

modern high school Our discussions of the various approaches to education, of the several kinds of high schools, of the interrelationship of secondary education and democracy, and of the influence of psychology upon educational practice all imply, if they do not explicitly suggest, specific patterns of educational method

A glance back at the "Imperative Needs of Youth" should suggest the direction that secondary teaching and learning methods have taken It is vitally important, but it is not enough, to know facts and data, to be skillful with the processes of arithmetic or chemistry While these are considered basic in every high school class, they are seen not as ends sufficient unto themselves but as means to larger, more central objectives The methods employed in the modern high school are attempts to develop among students such abilities as the capacity to think critically and independently and an awareness of the obligations and responsibilities of democratic citizenship For the realization in any measure of such aims as these, mere memorization, recitation, paraphrase, or imitation are woefully inadequate and ineffectual The teacher in the modern high school cannot rely exclusively, though he will often find them useful, on such minimal and mechanical practices as these In method as well as curriculum education encompasses the whole of life, and this means that the teacher's resources and techniques are and must be limitless

One area, that of the study of American government, should serve to show the trends in the development of secondary-school methodology Such a study cannot proceed far without clear and reasonably complete factual knowledge of the principles of constitutional government, the provisions of the federal Constitution, the details of the legislative process, and the like But in view of the admittedly lofty and certainly broad objectives of secondary education, such informational facility is hardly adequate in itself The teacher of government or civics in the high school must utilize other, more dynamic, and surely more difficult methods to achieve the kind of functional understanding which these objectives envision He must provide opportunities for the use of such avenues as direct observation and critical analysis of government in action, study of the organs and processes of the forma

tion of public opinion, group discussion and action on civic or political problems (this at both the school and the community levels)

An additional aspect of the operation of the high school should not be overlooked, but as it is the subject for a subsequent chapter, it will only be mentioned here. The objectives of secondary education which have underlain this discussion could not possibly be realized entirely or exclusively within the classroom. At the high school level perhaps more than at any other stage in the educational process, the out-of-class activities are of crucial significance. Imagine if you can a high school dedicated to the objectives here detailed without genuine student government, a vital social program, or interscholastic athletics, without a guidance program, a health program, a library, and a schedule of clubs for hobbies or special interests. Along with the trends in curriculum and methodology the expansion of high school activity into these social, esthetic, athletic, and civic areas is of incalculable importance.

American secondary education has developed from institutions patterned after European models to schools which are uniquely 'New World' in character. In moving from the Latin grammar school to the modern comprehensive high school, Americans abandoned social stratification, restriction of curriculum, and irrelevance to life as central characteristics of formal education for youth. We have examined several generally accepted basic purposes of contemporary American secondary education. These illustrate the extent to which the high school has been given the responsibility for serving large numbers of young men and women with infinitely varied social and professional objectives. Current questions in secondary education revolve most fundamentally around the problem of adapting to these several educational purposes a central thread of sociocivic education. American high schools must be so administered, and curriculum must be so designed, as to demonstrate vividly and conclusively the *democratic* orientation of the entire educational program. The needs and the challenge are of decisive importance as we recognize the necessity for improved articulation of colleges and high schools, for ever broader and more

relevant curricula, and for greater opportunity for creative self-expression in secondary education

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

BASIC QUESTION While it is probably generally conceded that the function of elementary education is to attempt to provide basic skills and knowledge which are felt to be essential for all persons, secondary schools must cater to a great diversity of human needs and aspirations. Nevertheless, what would you support as the basic objectives of the American secondary school which are common, which must be served for all students, regardless of occupational intentions or personal talents?

- 1 Where were the first secondary schools in the United States established? Who established them and for what purposes? How is this history of continuing significance for contemporary secondary education?
- 2 What circumstances in American life produced widespread demands that secondary education be made free and tax-supported? Why was this delayed so long after the general acceptance of the idea of free public elementary education? Do you note any modern counterparts of these earlier phenomena?
- 3 Examine the curricula of an urban public high school, a rural public high school, a parochial high school, and a private secondary school. What features are common to all? Wherein lie the basic differences? How do you explain these findings?
- 4 How many children of high-school age attend secondary schools? What percentage of the total number of high-school age children does this represent? What percentage of this group graduates from high school? What percentage finishes the eleventh grade? The tenth grade? What factors explain the decreasing percentage as the higher grades are approached? What does this suggest for the conduct of secondary education?
- 5 Should there be state laws requiring attendance at high school for all youth until graduation or age 18? What are your reasons?
- 6 What do you conceive to be the most outmoded but still common secondary school practices? Why?
- 7 What do you consider the most significant current trends in the conduct of secondary education? Why?
- 8 What are high schools doing today to prepare boys for their military

service? Should the fact of selective service be an important consideration in the design and operation of a secondary-school program?

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Higher Education

NEARLY SEVENTY YEARS AGO, in the course of some remarks on the history of education in the United States, N H R Dawson, who was then United States Commissioner of Education, wrote as follows

One of the strongest inferences that may be drawn [from a study of American educational history] is that in nearly every instance the foremost desire of the people has been for colleges and universities, rather than for schools of a lower grade. It was the opinion of the colonists and of the later settlers of the West and South that primary and secondary schools were essentially dependent for their existence upon higher institutions. This principle is borne out by the facts, for, then as now, wherever the best colleges and universities are, there will be found the best grade of primary and secondary schools. [Thus] to build up and strengthen higher learning is the safest plan for insuring the perpetuity of primary and secondary schools.¹

Educational historians may well debate the validity of Commissioner Dawson's generalization. There is no disagreement, however, as to the key place in American cultural development of the American college or university. In this chapter we turn to examine briefly certain aspects of the history of higher education in the United States and some of the major contemporary problems and trends in the conduct of collegiate institutions. To introduce these considerations, let us first ob-

¹ From Frank W. Blackmar *The History of Federal and State Aid to Higher Education*. Bureau of Education Circular of Information No. 1, 1890 (Washington D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office), pp. 4-5.

tain a bird's-eye view of the higher educational scene in the United States through the medium of some statistics

Statistical Overview of American Higher Education

Enrollment. The immediate postwar years were years of sharp and sudden increase in collegiate enrollment. The demand for education, pent up during the war in somewhat the same fashion as demands for houses and automobiles, was released following the cessation of hostilities, and governmental provisions to assist veterans in securing additional education augmented the great move to the campuses of America. By 1950-1952, however, the supply of returned veterans had been pretty nearly exhausted and some decline in higher educational enrollments was felt. The increases since 1952 are due rather to more natural forces, the growing number of high-school graduates, and especially the fact of the high birth rate of the war years. These factors, as we shall note later in this chapter, are certain to produce continued increases in collegiate and university enrollments for a long time to come.

Throughout our history, collegiate enrollments have climbed steadily upward, with serious downturns occurring only in the years of the depression and during World War II. In 1828 it is estimated that some twenty-five colleges had a total enrollment of approximately 3,200 students.² According to the census of 1840, 173 colleges held enrollments totaling 16,233, by 1860 the number of colleges had increased to 467, the enrollment to 56,120. In 1955-1956, some 1,850 colleges, universities, and other institutions of higher learning were serving approximately 2,700,000 students. The enrollment figure has increased not only numerically but at a pace far in excess of the growth of the general population. Table 10-1 indicates the extent of the contemporary higher educational enterprise and gives clear evidence of the sizable increases in enrollment which are currently under way. The 1955 enrollment marked a new peak, surpassing the previous year's figure by 8.8 per cent. It is of interest to note that the largest gains were made by

² N. Edwards and H. Richey, *The School in the American Social Order* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin 1947) pp. 274-275.

teachers colleges (12.8 percent) and that the increases for technological schools, junior colleges, and liberal arts colleges were also above the average for all institutions. Both men and women were enrolled in larger numbers than ever before but men continued to outnumber women, 1,784,000 to 937,000, by a ratio of almost 2 to 1.

Table 10-1. TOTAL FALL ENROLLMENT IN HIGHER EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS, 1954 AND 1955

Type of institution	Enrollment		Percent of change
	1954	1955	
Universities	1,166,000	1,241,000	+ 6.4
Liberal arts colleges	647,000	713,000	+10.2
Teachers' colleges	216,000	244,000	+12.8
Technological schools	75,000	85,000	+12.7
Theological schools	29,000	31,000	+ 7.7
Other professional schools	54,000	56,000	+ 3.5
Junior colleges	313,000	352,000	+12.5

Source, based on the annual survey of enrollments conducted by the Research and Statistical Services Branch, U S Office of Education, and reported in *Higher Education*, Vol XII, No 5, Washington, D C, January, 1956

Institutional Facilities and Financial Support. The United States Office of Education publishes biennial statistical reports on the state and extent of American higher education. The report for 1947-1948, *Statistics of Higher Education*, begins:

Among the outstanding characteristics of higher education in the United States are its wide diffusion and its accessibility to the general public. Every State has within its borders at least one university offering education in the liberal arts and professional training of one or more types; practically every State has at least one teacher education institution (not necessarily under the control of the State, but located within its borders), almost every State includes at least one junior college. Furthermore, hardly a city of 100,000 population or more is without higher educational facilities of some sort.

Of the approximately 1850 institutions of higher education which operated to serve the 2,700,000 students noted above, nearly two thirds were of the privately controlled variety. Table 10-2 suggests something

Table 10-2 INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING IN THE UNITED STATES, 1900-1950

Type of school	1900		1910		1920		1930		1940		1950	
	Public	Private	Public	Private	Public	Private	Public	Private	Public	Private	Public	Private
Total	969	866	414	627	519	890	610	1,141	641	1,210		
Degree granting universities, colleges, and professional schools *			99	519	117	684	142	855	161	948		
Junior colleges	64†	602†	10	42	129	148	217	239	297	227		
Normal schools	305	264	266	60	139	52	87	30				
Teachers colleges	—	—	39	6	134	6	164	17	183	35		

* Only independent professional schools not connected with other colleges or universities are counted

† Does not include professional schools

Source: U. S. Office of Education, biennial surveys of higher education. Adapted from a table appearing in James F. Dewhurst, *America's Needs and Resources* (New York, Twentieth Century Fund, 1955), p. 386.

of the historical development of the public and independent colleges and universities since 1900

The staffs of these institutions in 1955-1956 totaled over 200,000 persons. This total was divided almost exactly in half between public and private institutions, and 75 percent were men. Current long term trends show a steadily increasing instructional staff, a tendency to stabilize the ratio of men to women at around 3 to 1 and gradual but continued extension of public collegiate instructional facilities.

To build and maintain campuses, to pay salaries, and to buy equipment, how does higher education stand financially? In 1951-1952, American colleges and universities received and spent some \$2.5 billion on regular current operations. An additional \$400 million was devoted to plant expansion during that academic year. Of these funds, approximately 22 percent came from internal sources, tuition, and other fees, 13 percent was provided by private benefaction and endowment income, 56 percent was supplied from public sources—federal, state, and local governments.

These data, further refined, indicate several important features of the current trends in the support of American higher education: (1) Public institutions, 35 percent of the total, enrolled 50.2 percent of all students and received 55.3 percent of all educational income. (2) Student fees accounted for over 36 percent of the income of private colleges and universities, slightly more than 10 percent of the income of public institutions. (3) Private institutions received almost ten times as much in endowment as public institutions. (4) The Federal government, which in 1927-1928 contributed 5 percent of its higher education funds to private institutions, in 1951-1952 allotted 51.0 percent of its higher educational moneys to private institutions (this exclusive of the payments of veterans' tuitions). Altogether the Federal government's contribution to higher education totaled \$451 million in 1951-1952. Thus, "it appears that the fading line between control and support of higher education is becoming less and less distinct, with publicly controlled institutions receiving a constantly increasing share of private gifts and privately controlled institutions receiving an ever-increasing share of public funds."

Terminology

Just what is a "college" and a "university"? The terms are often used interchangeably and loosely, and frequently the distinctions are not too important. But it is well to bear in mind the essential features of these two major elements of the American higher educational system. Commonly the term "college" refers to an institution concentrating upon undergraduate study. The college is concerned with programs leading to the various bachelors' degrees: bachelor of arts, bachelor of science, and less frequently bachelor of education, music, or divinity. The college is designed primarily to present general or foundational education; the college does not, by definition, operate ordinarily to prepare professional or technical specialists. One selects a "major" or a specialty for study in a college, say physics, but the college does not claim or pretend that such study will produce a competent, adequately trained physicist. Collegiate education can be thought of as *preprofessional*: the general education deemed essential for good citizenship, productive living, and as basic to some occupation.

A 'university' must be seen as exemplifying three basic characteristics. In the first place, a university can be and usually is a collection of colleges. Sometimes, after the pattern of Oxford, it is an assemblage of semi-independent, undergraduate liberal arts colleges. More often, as in the case of our great state universities, it is a more or less integrated organization of colleges in various special fields: colleges of agriculture, business, arts and sciences, or education. Within these university colleges, of either type, are schools and departments which reflect further refinement and specialization: schools of architecture, forestry, or librarianship, departments of history, romance languages, or physical education.

In the second place, a university is more directly and deliberately concerned with professional or technical education than is the college. While some colleges vehemently and designedly eschew all semblance or pretension of offering technical education, the university is of necessity committed to the professional preparation of its students. The university will attempt to coordinate a general or liberal arts program with a specialization designed to produce some professional com-

petency. The college, of course, can and often does follow the same pattern, but such is not inherent in the definition of the term

This leads, in the third place, to the necessary inclusion in university organization of provisions for graduate study and research. Unlike the conventional liberal arts college, the university must provide for advanced study, work leading to higher degrees or meeting the requirements of certain professional specialties, such as law, teaching, or medicine

Such differences as the foregoing explanation suggests can be and frequently are overemphasized. It is not correct, in view of these definitions, to assume that a university has no concern for the humanities or the liberal arts, nor is it any more justifiable to conclude that the college, just because it is a college, has no interest in and makes no provisions for the professional preparation of its students. Of course, there are exceptions, but the identity of purpose and general compatibility of college and university activity belie the superficial differences. Note, for example, the following observation by James B. Conant, writing when he was President of Harvard University. Dr. Conant is speaking of the American university, but what he says here seems to be equally true for American higher education in general.

As the university tradition came to America, it was based on four ultimate sources of strength: the cultivation of learning for its own sake, the educational stream that makes possible the professions, the general educational stream of the liberal arts, and, lastly, the never failing river of student life carrying all the power that comes from the gregarious impulses of human beings. According to my view, universities have flourished when these four elements have been properly in balance, on the other hand, when one or more of these same elements has diminished or dried up, the academies of advanced instruction have failed signally in performing a relevant social function.

The cultivation of learning alone produces not a university but a research institute; sole concern with student life produces in these days either an academic country club or a football team maneuvering under a collegiate banner; professional education by itself results in nothing but a trade school; an institution concerned with general education, even in the best liberal arts tradition, divorced from research and train-

ing for the professions is admittedly not a university but a college. Therefore, to my mind, the future of the American university depends primarily on keeping a balance between these four traditional elements of strength. These four elements were the basis of the properly balanced plan in a time when universities were flourishing, they must continue to be in balance if the American university is to fulfill its functions in the times that are to come.³

The History of Higher Education in the United States

A brief survey of the development of higher education in the United States can be made by referring to four major types of collegiate institutions which reflect key stages in that development. Colonial America early showed its concern for and belief in higher education as an essential medium for consolidating and preserving its cultural traditions and heritage. Beginning with the founding of Harvard College in 1636, the colonists actively and vigorously sponsored the establishment of colleges to the extent that by 1776 nine such institutions had been founded. Originally the colonial colleges were intended primarily to provide for the continuance of qualified church leadership, as witnessed the following statement of need for a college in Virginia, dated 1661-1662:

Whereas the want of able and faithful ministers in this country deprives us of those great blessings and mercies that always attend upon the service of God, which want, by reason of our great distance from our native country, cannot in probability be always supplied from thence. Bee it enacted, that for the advance of learning, education of youth, supply of the ministry, and promotion of piety, there be land taken up or purchased for a college and free school. And that there be with as much speed as may be convenient houseing erected thereon, for entertainment of students and scholars.⁴

³ James B. Conant, *Education in a Divided World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948), p. 159. Used by permission.

⁴ *Hening Statutes at Large of Virginia*, II, 56, as cited in Edgar W. Knight and Clifton L. Hall, *Readings in American Educational History* (New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1951), p. 68.

The colonial colleges, primarily religious in intent, were denominational and church controlled. By the middle of the eighteenth century, however, the ministerial character of the colonial college began to decline in primacy. As with elementary and secondary schools, the demands of a new environment and a rapidly developing independent economy forced new responsibilities and challenges upon higher education. It is significant that the founding of Yale was signalized by the commitment to train men "fitted for public employment in church and state."

The second type and stage in the development of American higher education emerged in the early nineteenth century as the newly formed state and national governments began to take action. Recognition of the need for higher education in a democratic society prompted efforts for public support and subsidy. While the development of publicly supported higher education in the United States was slow and struggling, significant steps were taken almost from the day of adoption of the Constitution. North Carolina established a university in 1795 and the University of Georgia opened in 1801; the founding of such state universities as those of Vermont, Virginia, and Michigan were features of the first half of the nineteenth century.

Perhaps most instrumental in promoting the eventual development of public higher education were three actions of the Federal government, one during the period of the Articles of Confederation, the second during the first quarter of the nineteenth century, and the third in the second year of the Civil War. We have already had occasion to mention the first, the famous Northwest Ordinances of 1785 and 1787, which reserved lands in the territories for the support of common schools. With the admission of Ohio to the union in 1802, this policy was further extended to include the grant of an entire township from federal lands for the support of higher education, and all states (save Texas) which have joined the union since 1802 have benefited similarly. Such munificence sparked the establishment of such state universities as Ohio, Michigan, and Wisconsin.

The second federal action to prompt the founding of public colleges and universities was the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Dartmouth College case of 1819. By this decision, the private

status of Dartmouth College, hence of other private colleges (as well as private business organizations), was protected from governmental violation or impairment. This decision had two decisive results. Private agencies, especially churches, were encouraged to found increasing numbers of schools and colleges in the knowledge that their independence from government encroachments was guaranteed. This encouragement of private interests resulted in the establishment of some five hundred colleges between 1820 and 1860, the vast majority of which were denominational. Public interests or those desirous that more institutions of higher learning be founded by the states were prevented by the Dartmouth decision from taking over or converting existing private colleges. Hence efforts were made to found state universities, but at first with small success. It was not until the middle of the century that the move toward state universities and colleges overcame the pressures and obstacles thrown up by the private and denominational school interests.

The third federal action, no less important than the other two, which promoted public collegiate education was the justly famous Morrill Act of 1862, known also as the Land-Grant College Act. By this legislation the federal Congress undertook to support with bountiful grants of government land the establishment of colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts ("A and M") in the several states. These grants were eagerly utilized, some states founding new institutions, while others used their grants to enlarge and strengthen existing colleges or universities. The great period of the founding of state colleges and state universities was the thirty years immediately following the Civil War.

The third stage in this brief survey is represented by the establishment in the late nineteenth century of the great privately endowed universities. To be sure, such institutions had been founded during the early years of the nineteenth century and more would appear in the twentieth century. But something of a peak in this phase of development was reached with the founding, roughly between 1870 and 1900, of such institutions as Johns Hopkins, Stanford, Clark, Chicago, and Tulane—all the products of private benefaction.

Fourth, and of relatively recent vintage for the most part, there has appeared on the American scene a wide variety of colleges and uni-

versities generally referred to as municipal. Publicly governed and supported in the main, and local in service and clientele, these municipal colleges are becoming increasingly significant. Including as they do the burgeoning junior college and operating very frequently as integral parts of a regular school system, these institutions are clearly meeting a need not hitherto adequately served by the large state or private universities or the oft-times remote and selective private colleges. The most notable examples of this type of institution are the municipal colleges in the city of New York, tax supported and tuition free, which carry local public education through a baccalaureate program, and the system of junior colleges in California which are similarly publicly financed, locally administered, and tuition free. Of the junior college we shall have more to say later.

While these four stages roughly indicate the course of higher educational development in this country, they by no means tell the whole story. Developing along with these institutions, indeed, in many instances as parts of them, were various kinds of professional, technical, or specialized schools of collegiate grade. The list is long and would include, among many others, such institutional types as schools of theology, medicine, dentistry, nursing, and law as well as such notable schools as Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, the Massachusetts and California Institutes of Technology, and the Sheffield Scientific School of Yale University.

Of particular interest here is the emergence of schools for the education and preparation of teachers. Under the impetus of the early nineteenth-century urge for increased public education, demands were strong for a more systematic approach to teacher education. The first school for teacher education opened its doors in Lexington, Massachusetts, in 1839 and was soon followed by others. These early teachers' schools, generally known as "normal" schools (from the Latin *normalis* meaning model or pattern), were at first little better than high schools and served to train teachers for the growing grammar or elementary-school demand. Despite generally low standards and unimaginative operation, the normal schools achieved much public support and the latter half of the nineteenth century saw an expansion of teacher education with the extensive establishment of state teachers' colleges.

Coupled with this development was the appearance of influential private colleges for teacher education, most notable of these being the George Peabody College for Teachers in Nashville, Tennessee, and Teachers College of Columbia University. Gradually the universities, both public and private, came to recognize the resources they could provide for teacher education and the challenging obligation that lies in this field, with the result that teachers' colleges or schools or departments of education are now integral and vital parts of most higher educational institutions.

In summary we can note essentially five major types of institutions as illustrative of the character of American higher education (1) the old, established private institutions, universities like Harvard, Columbia, Yale, and Princeton, and independent colleges like Amherst, Williams, or Dartmouth, (2) the state universities, like Michigan, California, Minnesota, and Washington, (3) the privately endowed institutions of more recent vintage, such as Duke, Chicago, and Stanford, (4) the growing municipal, tax-supported institutions, for example, Queens and Hunter Colleges in New York City, Wayne University in Detroit, and the junior colleges over the nation, and (5) the various professional schools, from Union Theological Seminary and the Juilliard School of Music to the state college for teachers at Muncie, Indiana, or Flagstaff, Arizona.

Still the record is not complete for we must take note of the development of collegiate education for women. Formal education for women is, as everyone is aware, a very recent advance in Western history. It was not until 1837 that Mary Lyon founded the first school for girls which finally developed into a college for women, Mt Holyoke. Oberlin College however, had in 1833 received its first class on a coeducational basis, and it is evident that by 1860 higher education of women in state universities and in certain forward looking private colleges had become firmly established. Today, of the 1,850 odd colleges and universities in the United States, approximately two thirds are coeducational while perhaps one sixth are women's colleges. As noted earlier, current figures on enrollments in higher educational institutions indicate that approximately twice as many men as women are now attending college.

Major Problems in Higher Education

In our discussions of elementary and secondary education we found it necessary to raise certain questions regarding the purposes of that education. So too with higher education the chief problems revolve around questions of its role or function in modern society. No consideration of higher education in America today proceeds far without an examination into the nature of that education—its aims, its content, and its appropriateness. That question is not effectively dealt with unless we face the corollary question: For whom and for how many should this collegiate education be available? It is to these two matters, the question of purpose and the problem of availability, that this section is addressed.

What Kind of Higher Education? To understand and intelligently consider the question of the function of higher education today, it is necessary, indeed unavoidable, to return to certain of the considerations discussed in Part Two and to clothe these in a historical context. Historically higher education has functioned around the concept of "liberal education," a concept with definite and specific original meanings but one which has been modified and adapted to fit changing circumstances. Liberal education originated as that kind of education suitable for the ancient Greek freeman as distinguished from the slave, an education which was appropriate to the unique elements in the freeman's life: his responsibilities of citizenship, his military duties, his social obligations, and his leisure. Labor, commerce, handicrafts, agriculture, and the like were all the function and province of the slave population.

The sort of curriculum that this thinking produced was intended to develop well roundedness. This ideal of balance or harmony, central to the ancient Greeks, was to be realized through training and education designed to fuse or integrate the spiritual mental with the physical in man. This accounts for the emphasis on music, gymnastics, oratory, and the dance, but it also explains the absence of anything designedly mechanical, vocational, or professional. This conception of liberal education was epitomized and crystallized (and accorded Biblical sanction by some) during the early Middle Ages as the "seven liberal arts"—

grammar, logic, rhetoric, music, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy. These areas constituted the basic studies throughout the Middle Ages and as such shaped the development of the medieval university.

Since the Greeks, this ideal has often been seriously distorted. Liberal education has been interpreted at certain times to mean a narrowly theological, occasionally dogmatic curriculum, at other times a highly technical scientific course of study, and at still other times a lack of definite curricular organization. Nevertheless, there are today many for whom the original ideal is still quite valid. The chief contemporary evidence of the continued liveliness of the liberal arts tradition is to be found in the general-education movement. A reaction against the extreme specialization which the elective system fostered and against the technically or vocationally one-sided kind of education prompted by current economic and social conditions, general education is an attempt to apply the inherent values of the traditional liberal arts in a modern context. Accepting the ideal of harmonious development and well roundedness, vigorously reasserting the function of education in promoting effective and responsible citizenship (especially in a democracy), general education raises questions as to the propriety of divorcing labor from leisure, vocation from citizenship, and making a living from living. It might be said that general education is a reformulation of the liberal arts idea in terms of twentieth-century democracy without the overtones of class stratification which characterized the original.

Just what, then, is meant by general education? Perhaps nowhere is this question more carefully and incisively answered for modern America than in the now famous Harvard Report, "*General Education in a Free Society*." In his instructions to the committee of Harvard faculty who were to consider the problem and prepare this report, Dr. Conant wrote: "There is nothing new in such educational goals [the goals of general education], what is new in this century in the United States is their application to a system of universal education." Earlier he had written: "The primary concern of American education today is not the development of the appreciation of the 'good life' in young gentlemen born to the purple. It is the infusion of the liberal and humane tradition into our entire educational system. Our purpose is

to cultivate in the largest possible number of our future citizens an appreciation of both the responsibilities and the benefits which come to them because they are Americans and are free' ⁵

The strength and appeal of general education are due largely to the flexibility and adaptability with which the concept can be handled. We cannot speak, as before, of the seven liberal arts, general education is and must be something different and unique in each campus or schoolroom. There is, however, considerable agreement that general education is at least:

1. A reaction against compartmentalization, a feeling that part of the debacle of our times is due to the fact that highly concentrated knowledge in a special field is not enough
2. A nonvocational, nonspecialist attempt to train individuals to face the responsibilities which all of us share, to supply that educational equipment and capacity for living necessary to all educated men regardless of occupation
3. An education in the attitudes, values, knowledge, and skills necessary if the individual is to live a personally full and socially useful life in a free community ⁶

What is general education? Perhaps it is safe to say that it is the liberal arts transformed and reoriented. To be sure, general education is not the whole of higher education, there still must be professional schools of all sorts, research institutes, schools of technology, agriculture, and fine arts. The significant element in the general-education movement is its capacity for adapting to all of these and, in turn, its ability to influence and infuse all other phases of education. It is the peculiar contribution of general education to afford common, universal learnings as undergirdings for the common life of our society.

Higher Education for Whom? Three years after the publication of the Harvard Report, a commission on higher education in the United States which had been appointed by President Truman issued its report. Appointed to study and evaluate American higher education

⁵ *General Education in a Free Society* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1945), p. xv. Used by permission.

⁶ William N. Chambers, *General Education—Philosophy and Patterns. Current Trends in Higher Education 1949* (Washington D. C., Department of Higher Education, National Education Association, 1949), p. 50. Used by permission.

and to make recommendations for future national policy, this commission in considerable measure began its investigations where the Harvard group had stopped

The report, entitled *Higher Education for American Democracy*, opens with a discussion of the role of education in these times.⁷

It is a commonplace of the democratic faith that education is indispensable to the maintenance and growth of freedom of thought, faith, enterprise, and association. Thus the social role of education in a democratic society is at once to insure equal liberty and equal opportunity to differing individuals and groups, and to enable the citizens to understand, appraise, and redirect forces, men, and events as these tend to strengthen or to weaken their liberties.

It is essential today that education come decisively to grips with the world wide crisis of mankind. But the scientific knowledge and technical skills that have made atomic and bacteriological warfare possible are the products of education and research, and higher education must share proportionately in the task of forging social and political defenses against obliteration.

In the light of this situation, the President's Commission on Higher Education has attempted to select, from among the principal goals for higher education, those which should come first in our time. They are to bring to all the people of the nation

Education for a fuller realization of democracy in every phase of living

Education directly and explicitly for international understanding and cooperation

Education for the application of creative imagination and trained intelligence to the solution of social problems and to the administration of public affairs

This is clearly a redirected and democratized interpretation of the liberal arts, another way of describing the challenge which general education must meet. But the primary concern of the commission was over the question of who should attend college and the related problem of "Barriers to Equal Opportunity." The commission based its

⁷ President's Commission on Higher Education, *Higher Education for American Democracy* (Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1947), 5 vols.

recommendations on this salient point that at least 49 percent of the American population 'has the mental ability to complete fourteen years of schooling with a curriculum of general or vocational studies . . ." while at least 32 percent of the population 'has the ability to complete an advanced liberal or specialized professional education " As of the late 1940 s, when these proposals were made, only 10 percent of the total population had ever attended college at all and less than 16 percent of the eighteen to-twenty-one year age group was enrolled in colleges or universities By 1955, the proportion of college age youth enrolled in college had risen to nearly 30 percent

Specifically, the commission recommended a doubling of college and university enrollments by the year 1960 (to a total of some 4 600,000), the provision of universal free public education through the fourteenth (or sophomore) year, federal scholarships and fellowships to enable qualified youth to continue their education, and the elimination of the inequalities resulting from racial segregation and admission quotas of a racial character. The President's commission called for the removal of all barriers to such inequality as it was manifest in higher education It is the province of a later chapter to discuss in some detail the general problem of equality of educational opportunity

In answer to the question 'Who should go to college?' the commission held that the first two years should be freely available to all who can profit from such study and that over twice as many as are now in attendance should continue through four years or on to graduate work That these recommendations were debatable readily became apparent as many leading educators jumped to challenge both the data and the conclusions of the commission Clearly the reactions to the commission's report reflected basic philosophic commitments Robert Hutchins, then Chancellor of the University of Chicago commented that 'The problem of higher education in America is not the problem of quantity Whatever our shortcomings in this regard, we have a higher proportion of our young people in higher education than any country I can think of, and we certainly have more teachers and more square feet per student in bigger, newer buildings than any other nation in the world ' ⁸ Even more vehement in disapproval was the

⁸ Reprinted from *Time* (July 26 1948) p 58

President of Fordham University, the Very Reverend Robert I Gannon⁹

The fraud in the present campaign for educational inflation consists in spreading our national culture perilously thin and calling it "Democracy of education" It consists in swelling the number of incompetents in American colleges and calling it "equality of opportunity" .

It has been a normal condition of American colleges for years that one third of the so-called students were in the way, cluttering up the place and interfering with other people's intellectual progress If we need more room to take care of the boom in 1960, let us create a good part of it by clearing out the useless lumber that we have already. .

By multiplying college facilities until they can care for every high school graduate who doesn't want to go to work, the commission is not doing the colleges or the country any favor How the commission hopes to multiply the sheepskins and have fewer sheep, I cannot guess.

This program threatens to suffocate us with tides of mediocrity.

It is essential that students of contemporary education become aware that such controversy exists, is real, and is of vital concern It does not seem amiss, however, to close this part of the discussion with the rejoinder of one student of education to the fear of a culture spread "perilously thin" "These gentlemen," he remarked, "appear to feel that there is not enough culture to go around"

The Major Contemporary Trends in Higher Education

It is probably accurate to state that at no level of the educational ladder is there any more analysis and evaluation, criticism and experimentation, change and reform than at the college level If it be roughly true that the 1920's was the decade of great elementary school reorientation, and that the 1930's was the period of greatest reform at the secondary level, it seems to be true that the late 1940's and the decade of the 1950's will see greater changes in the conduct of higher education than have been evident for half a century.

⁹ *Ibid* (Feb 23 1948), p 52

In a sense we have already discussed the two major trends in higher education, for both the Harvard Report and the President's commission were signs of the times. We have noted that general education is readaptation and remolding of the liberal arts tradition to fit contemporary demands. It might also be added to fit the findings and disclosures of modern psychology. Note the following from the Harvard Report's chapter on "Theory of General Education" under the subtitle *The Good Man and the Citizen*.¹⁰

Human personality cannot, however, be broken up into distinct parts or traits. Education must look to the whole man. It has been wisely said that education aims at the good man, the good citizen and the useful man. By a good man is meant one who possesses an inner integration, poise, and firmness, which in the long run come from an adequate philosophy of life. Personal integration is not a fifth characteristic in addition to the other four and coordinate with them; it is their proper fruition. The aim of liberal education is the development of the whole man, and human nature involves instincts and sentiments as well as the intellect. Two dangers must be mentioned. First there is the danger of identifying intelligence with the qualities of the so-called intellectual type—with bookishness and skill in the manipulation of concepts. We have tried to guard against this mistake by stressing the traits of relevant judgment and discrimination of values in effective thinking. Second, we must remember that intelligence, even when taken in its widest sense, does not exhaust the total potentialities of human nature. Man is not a contemplative being alone. Why is it then, that education is conceived as primarily an intellectual enterprise when, in fact, human nature is so complex? For instance, man has his emotions and his drives and his will, why should education center on the training of the intellect? The answer is found in the truth that intelligence is not a special function (or not that only) but a way in which all human powers may function. Intelligence is that leaven of awareness and reflection which, operating upon native powers of men, raises them from the animal level and makes them truly human. By reason we mean, not an activity apart, but rational guidance of all human activity. Thus the fruit of education is intelligence in action. The aim is mastery of life, and since living is an art, wisdom is the indispensable means to this end.

¹⁰ *General Education in a Free Society* op. cit., pp. 74-75 (Italics my own.)

Colleges and universities are reconsidering their objectives and reshaping their curricula along such lines as these. To cite but a few examples: conventional courses in social science are being replaced by studies of 'Great Issues,' course arrangements are bringing together several disciplines or areas (for example, history, economics, anthropology, and political science) to bear upon the salient problems of our time, core curricula are being devised (some like the contemporary civilization course at Columbia College or the humanities program at Scripps College have been in operation for twenty five years or more) which attempt to fuse the social sciences, the fine arts, and the physical sciences into coherent wholes, and, again, what are perhaps clumsily but accurately described as 'interdepartmental departments' are appearing, providing cross sectional studies in several related fields. The trend is clear, colleges are attempting to provide the integrated, common learnings which seem increasingly to hold the educational promise which modern conditions require.

Similarly, the trend toward greater availability of higher education is a notable feature of contemporary collegiate life. Increasingly, states and municipalities are promoting and underwriting the extension of public education upward through the first two years of college. Large scale state and national scholarship programs, representing private as well as public sponsorship, have been initiated to enable capable students to attend colleges and universities. The educational benefits of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, the 'GI Bill of Rights,' have proved so marked and widespread that the principle of that act was reiterated with the passage in 1952 of similar legislation on behalf of veterans of the war in Korea. Whether or not the goal set by the President's commission is attained, and, on statistical grounds alone, many hold this to be an untenable objective, there seems little reason to anticipate a decrease in the demand for higher education. Even the most conservative estimates of future collegiate enrollments¹¹ foretell gigantic increases in the 1960s and 1970s. Francis Horn,

¹¹ See for example Francis H. Horn, "Who Should Go to College?", *Current Issues in Higher Education* 1955 (Washington D. C. Association for Higher Education National Education Association 1955) pp. 38-46 and the Fund for the Advancement of Education *Teachers for Tomorrow* Bulletin No. 2 New York: the Fund November 1955 pp. 14-15.

President of Pratt Institute, points out that "Even if there is no increase in the *percentage* of college age youths attending college, now about 31 percent, the college population in 1970-71 would be 4,220,000. If, however, the recent trends in the proportionate increase of the eighteen to twenty-one age group attending college continue, the 1970-1971 figure will stand in the neighborhood of 6,500,000!

A third trend which has already become obvious in our discussion of general education is the trend toward the minimization of conventional departmental boundaries. The hitherto sacrosanct precincts of one discipline are constantly and increasingly being invaded by neighbors and no department can longer assume that it is sufficient unto itself. As the social sciences and the physical sciences meet to consider the political or economic implications of nuclear fission, departmental lines loom less large, as the moral implications of such a question are introduced, the humanities enter the lists and again departmentalization is subordinated. Integration and correlation are the key words here. Increasingly, colleges and universities, with departments or divisions of general studies, research programs which ignore conventional lines, or indeed professional objectives which demand the services of several fields, are organizing to fit these new and fundamental requirements.

A danger exists of which many are aware. Just as the meat may lose its savor in a hash, so too are the benefits of specialization subject to the hazards of dilution. Few will deny that recent history demonstrates the harmfulness inherent in excessive, unintelligent specialization. To specialize in a vacuum, today more than ever before, is potentially antisocial, antihumanitarian. But, to lose one's special competencies, to sacrifice the unique understandings or peculiar skills which constitute a specialty in the name of integration results in barrenness and, eventually, paralysis. Society requires intelligent, disciplined leadership. The discipline is the contribution of specialization, the intelligence results when the specials are fused and coordinated.

A fourth current trend in higher education is to be seen in the emergence of regional collegiate arrangements. As the scope and range of demands upon higher educational institutions have increased, it

has become apparent that many colleges and universities were not, nor were they likely to be, equipped to meet these demands. Especially in the Southeast and Far West, private and public college authorities have begun to organize in an attempt to meet these needs on a regional basis. As the plan is working out, colleges and universities in a given region are attempting to complement, rather than compete with, each other. One school will serve as the center for training in law, another for nursing or medicine, still another for chemical engineering, and so on to the extent that such spreading is practicable. An interesting recent innovation is the organization of libraries representing a pooling of the resources of several colleges. As enrollments increase, and as the expense of supplying higher education increases, it is hoped that arrangements of this character will permit adequate service of high quality without possibly ruinous duplication.¹²

Perhaps one other trend is sufficiently noteworthy to be included here, the development of genuine concern for the professional education of college teachers. Extensive requirements, internships, and stints of actual classroom teaching experience have become the accepted, even demanded, ingredients of a program of preparation for elementary or secondary-school teaching. Not so for the college teacher, however. No credentials, certificates, or prescribed professional courses have marked his road to the professorship. Underlying the entire approach to college teaching has been the assumption that knowledge

¹² "Plans matured for cooperation among the states in higher education on a new basis, most definitely in the Southern Regional Education Program a system of voluntary regional cooperation in higher education. Under an interstate compact drawn up in 1948 fourteen states are now cooperating in the program of assisting states and institutions and agencies concerned with higher education to advance knowledge and to improve the social and economic level of the South. More than one million dollars is invested in the program.

Some 850 students (583 whites and 267 Negroes) are crossing state lines to obtain education not available at home but provided in 19 colleges and universities under contract through the Southern Regional Education Board. The program now operates in the fields of medicine, dentistry, veterinary medicine, social work, and forestry. A commission is at work to start a regional nursing education program.

"The Rocky Mountain and Pacific Coast states have begun action to establish similar planning and have used the South's experience for suggestions on organization and procedure."

James F. Dewhurst, *America's Needs and Resources: A New Survey* (New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1955), p. 402.

of the subject was all that mattered, that if one were sufficiently familiar with his materials, he was thereby equipped to teach

Possibly again as one result of the impact of modern psychology, perhaps too as a corollary to the growing generalized rather than specialized trend in higher education and surely because of the college's growing concern for its students as individuals, attention has been directed of late to the matter of college teacher qualification. To be sure, the M.A. and the Ph.D. still reign as passports to a college faculty, and few would deny that they (or something) should stand as symbol of a certain degree of competence in a field. But is this enough? Clearly no. There is widespread concern over the whole problem of recruiting and preparing college teachers. It seems safe to predict that no one program or pattern will be adopted on the order of state teaching credential requirements, for the training of college instructors. What is clear, however, is that colleges and universities all over the country are devising curricula and programs by which more effectively to prepare such personnel. For example following the lead of such institutions as Columbia, Harvard and Yale, many colleges and universities have instituted programs leading toward a Master of Arts in Teaching catering to prospective junior college and college instructors as well as candidates for secondary school credentials. Reference should be made also to *A Handbook for College Teachers*, edited by Bernice B. Cronkhite (Harvard University Press, 1950), which is a collection of lecture discussions organized into a course for prospective college teachers. Perhaps most significant of all was a conference held in December 1949 under the sponsorship of the United States Office of Education and the American Council on Education to consider the entire question of how best to train college teaching personnel. The results of this conference which George F. Zook called 'The first nation wide attempt to focus the thinking of persons from all sections of the country on this problem' were published by the American Council on Education in July 1950 under the title *The Preparation of College Teachers*. Here again is evidence that American higher education is zealously examining itself, analyzing both the merchandise it purveys and the product it turns out, in the hope that the critical demands of these times will not find it wanting.

As a final illustration of the contemporary character of American collegiate activity, we have chosen to reproduce some items from recent issues of *Higher Education*, the monthly publication of the Higher Education Division of the United States Office of Education in Washington, D C These excerpts, selected to suggest something of contemporary curricular developments, can only be minutely representative of the wide range and variety of experiments, innovations, and interests which characterize American higher education in these times

Curriculum Developments

"Hollins Abroad A new, annual program of foreign study and travel for its own students will be inaugurated this academic year by Hollins College and will be known as 'Hollins Abroad' This program will be different from foreign study offerings now available to American students in that, although the two semesters of study will be at the Sorbonne in Paris, they will fall into two academic years the second (spring) semester of the sophomore year and the first (fall) semester of the junior year The intervening vacation of 3 months will be devoted to group travel on an extensive itinerary of cultural interest in France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Austria, Switzerland, Germany, the Low Countries, and Great Britain (November, 1954)

Liberal Arts and Forestry Program Muhlenberg College and Duke University have entered into a combined forestry training program which will include a 3 year coordinated study program in the basic arts and sciences at Muhlenberg and a 2 year course in specialized training at the Duke School of Forestry Both the bachelor's degree and the master of forestry degree may be earned during the 5 year period (January, 1955)

English Language Institute More than 5 000 students from 48 different countries have come to the University of Michigan's English Language Institute (ELI) for an intensive course that enables them, when they have completed it, to go on to advanced study and research in the United States About a third of the students come to the institute with no knowledge of spoken or written English Jobs for the students who are trained at the institute are numerous, and according to latest reports, there are more openings available for them than can be filled The institute now extends overseas in the form of its English language

proficiency tests, begun 2 years ago. Since that time they have been given in 22 foreign countries to more than 1,000 students (May, 1955).

Southeast Asia Program at Cornell The Southeast Asia Program at Cornell University has received a \$500,000 endowment grant from the Rockefeller Foundation to support teaching and research activities. This amount is in addition to \$350,000 Cornell previously received from the Foundation for developing the program's staff and facilities. The program's main objectives are to instruct undergraduates on Southeast Asian affairs, to train advanced students for teaching, government work, business or other services relating to the area, and to develop information on the region through research work. The program also seeks to stimulate in the countries of Southeast Asia greater interest in the social sciences and the humanities. A Cornell Center is maintained in Bangkok for this purpose and to help train Americans and others in Southeast Asian studies (November, 1955).

New York University Offers New Program New York University's Washington Square College of Arts and Science is this fall offering a new program of studies for persons who intend to work among the country's Spanish speaking citizens. The program combines pre-social work training with courses in the Spanish language and civilization. The 4 year program leads to the bachelor of arts degree. Laboratory work in Puerto Rico will be offered on a credit basis for upperclassmen, and some specially qualified students will receive scholarships from the University of Puerto Rico (November, 1955).

Defense Studies Program Harvard University is introducing a defense studies program this fall in an attempt to increase public and official understanding of the broad problems of national defense. The studies will be carried out with the assistance of a grant of \$214,800 from the Ford Foundation. The program will deal with the many problems created by the emergence of the United States as the principal military power of the free world. It will serve as a civilian center for training and research on the political, economic, and social aspects of the problem, and will provide a meeting ground for independent military and civilian thought and analysis. A major effort of the project, both for students and staff, will be continuing study of the Nation's defense policies as revealed in such items as the defense budget, congressional hearings, statements by national leaders, and other official actions (November, 1955).

Nonwestern Civilization Program As a result of strong student

interest in a pioneering undergraduate program at the University of Rochester on non western civilizations designed to provide a broad understanding of the realities of Asia, the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America, the program has been expanded this fall to provide for a field of concentration in the subject (January, 1956)

Lehigh Adopts New College Honors Program A college honors program which will provide for comprehensive, advanced study at the undergraduate level will be instituted next September at Lehigh University Under the theme Creative Concepts, the program will foster independent study through a series of limited enrollment seminars and the writing of a thesis The aims are to increase student responsibility through independent study, to group men of comparable ability so as to increase academic incentive and competition, and to provide the opportunity to study undergraduate subject matter at a level of maturity above that in general classes (February, 1956)

Summer Institutes for Teachers of Science and Mathematics Twenty two grants designed to point the way to improved teaching of science and mathematics in the nation's high schools and colleges have been made by the National Science Foundation The grants, totaling more than a million dollars, have been awarded to colleges, universities, and professional societies for the purpose of conducting institutes led by outstanding scientists, engineers, and mathematicians for high school and college teachers in these fields (April, 1956)

Lengthened Class Day and Week With an eye toward next fall's expected enrollment record, Southern Illinois University administrators have developed a three pronged plan to give all students an even opportunity on class scheduling The system involves three separate schedule systems for students System A will be a morning schedule, designed for the commuter, working student, or athlete who wants his afternoons free He will be assigned courses between 8 a m and 1 p m, Monday through Saturday System B for the student who works in the mornings and Saturdays will be a strict afternoon and evening class schedule, Monday through Friday The third schedule is for students not committed to other activities and runs the gamut of day and night class time, from 8 a m Monday through Saturday noon (May, 1956)

Summer Workshops for Recent High School Graduates In an effort to help recent high school graduates overcome the difficulties of transition to college study, special workshops were organized and offered by the general college and preprofessional division of Ferris Institute (Big

Rapids, Michigan) during the summers of 1954 and 1955. The principal objective of these workshops was to prepare students to compete with other freshmen in institutions of higher learning [in the fields of English and mathematics] (May, 1956)

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

BASIC QUESTION Almost from our national beginnings, attendance at colleges and universities has increased at a higher rate than the growth of the population (Just how large a percentage increase has college and university enrollment undergone since 1910, 1925, 1940?) How do you account for this tremendous rise in collegiate attendance? What is the evidence that this condition is likely to continue?

1. To what extent is higher education today (a) publicly controlled and operated, (b) privately sponsored, financed, and administered?
2. What are the distinguishing features of a college, a university, a technological institute (such as the California or Massachusetts Institutes of Technology), a professional school? Are they growing more or less distinctive? Why?
3. Describe some of the chief contemporary trends in the development of American higher education. Why are these important?
4. What are the major arguments supporting coeducational colleges, separate colleges for men, separate colleges for women?
5. Why is the growth of junior colleges in the United States a significant and desirable phenomenon? What is the logic behind extending the junior college downward to include the eleventh and twelfth grades?
6. In the face of the mounting demand for higher education, how should we conceive of the role or responsibility of the small independent college? Should it endeavor to increase its size and shoulder a larger proportion of the burden, thereby jeopardizing something of its distinctiveness? Or should it refuse to enlarge itself, admitting that quantitatively its influence is doomed to be reduced, but holding that its qualitative contribution can continue vital to society?
7. What are some of the more significant and, in your view, more practicable innovations in college teaching and organization, designed to meet the pressures of vastly enlarged student bodies?

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Out-of-Class Activities in Organized Education

Historical Background

IN OUR DISCUSSION of educational philosophy we noted that concern for well roundedness, for the development of the total personality, is not a modern innovation. Despite certain varying contemporary interpretations of classical thought it is unmistakably clear that the intellectual leaders of ancient Athens who founded the classical tradition were fundamentally committed to all round education. The Greeks considered the best education to consist of esthetic, moral, civic, and physical as well as intellectual education, it is this connotation which the liberal arts tradition, genuinely interpreted, attempts to foster.

What we customarily think of as extracurricular, as outside of regular educational activity, can be seen to have as long and respectable a history as the more formalized aspects of school life. It would be fruitful, if time and space allowed, to trace the history of these out-of-class aspects of education in some detail. We should find leaders in educational thought in all periods of Western history advocating a kind of schooling which goes far beyond the confines of what we have come to consider the strictly academic. Let a few examples suffice.

School for the Athenian youth of the fifth century B.C. was a leisure time activity with the function of educating him in the intelligent use of his leisure. By the very nature of such conditions, school for him

was forced to view life broadly, to consider the several aspects of life, and to attempt to correlate and integrate these in a balanced, harmonious personality. To be sure, the character of Greek society was such as to produce what most moderns would consider as something less than a *complete individual*. For the very absence of vocational, practical, or mundane concerns meant that a one-sidedness was the inevitable result. Nevertheless, the conception of total growth was central.

Both Cicero and Quintilian, the two Romans destined to have the most influence on Western educational history, believed in and advocated a kind of education closely related to life and to the practical problems of this world. Both were concerned that the leaders whom it was education's responsibility to produce be broad visioned, widely experienced men, and the curricula they enunciated evidenced this concern. The medieval period was not without spokesmen for a general or inclusive education and the Renaissance, of course, is chiefly featured by its reaffirmation of the central place of the well rounded human being.

Among more modern educational theorists, John Locke and Jean Jacques Rousseau are especially noteworthy in this connection. Locke, in suggesting an educational program for the young English gentlemen of the late seventeenth century, insisted upon going far beyond the traditional subjects of study. Such elements as travel to foreign lands, extensive physical education, and even the learning of a trade Locke considered as essential in the development of a stable, well-equipped, and balanced gentleman. Rousseau represents an even more extreme position, for in his famous educational treatise, *Emile*, he abandoned formal education altogether (at least until late adolescence) and argued for an education which is literally built around the whole of life. In education as Rousseau would have it little seems omitted: art, the study of nature, physical development, vocational training, knowledge of oneself—all these are included and emphasized. Rousseau argued for an all inclusive curriculum, or more correctly for an all inclusive educational experience without the inhibitions or restrictions which he felt accrued to a formally organized system of study. There are many who would contend that Rousseau's design for education would surely have produced undisciplined and unbalanced personalities (and

it does seem clear that the emotional and social sides of Emile's character were sadly neglected), but the fact remains that in Rousseau we have a stalwart exponent of a broad conception of education

This brief history would be incomplete without mention of the twentieth-century champion of all round education, John Dewey His half century of argument and agitation for a generous and inclusive conception of education has marked him as the philosopher of "progressive or modern education For, when Dewey speaks of 'education as life or education as the reconstruction of experience, he is speaking of the *whole* of life, not of its merely academic or intellectual aspects Dewey, like the Greeks and Locke and Rousseau, is concerned that education be real, lifelike, and humane, and he finds these qualities in much that lies beyond the formal lecture or the organized classroom Despite the critics, contemporary curricula which involve concern for vocations, esthetics, hobbies, recreation, and creative expression are in fact reinforcers of the genuine classical tradition, not departures from it Those who uncritically condemn the 'fads and frills the lollipops, are arguing for a rejection of that which they profess to support If the school is to promote the growth of well adjusted well balanced, well rounded persons, this phase of school life must be seen in its proper and authentic light and must receive its due in the over all consideration of educational policy We turn now to examine certain of these extraclass aspects of the modern American school, dividing our consideration (for convenience only) between student activities and school services While the discussion which follows is intended to be merely descriptive of such activities, it can also stand as suggestive of both the extent of the modern teacher's responsibilities and the breadth of professional opportunities available in the schools of today

Student Activities in the Modern School

Academic Activities Perhaps the most popular, in the sense of the number served, and the most noncontroversial extraclass activities are those which center around various academic or intellectual specialties Most commonly known as clubs, these are groups organized on a

voluntary basis to carry the interests of students beyond what can normally be handled in the classroom. They constitute a means of catering to the needs of the academically talented youth who wishes to investigate the area of his choice in a way and to a degree impossible in regular classroom work. There are few high schools and colleges which do not maintain a more or less lengthy roster of science clubs, art clubs, and Spanish or French or Latin clubs. Most of the usual areas of study are supplemented by such activities as these.

Such organizations serve a dual function. They do, of course, provide stimulus and outlet for the youth whose interests or talents are not, and perhaps could not be, adequately served in the ordinary class. Potentially these clubs constitute effective and important media for reaching and aiding the exceptionally gifted child whose full development in a system of mass education is an increasingly crucial and difficult problem. Second, such organizations perform a socializing service, providing opportunities for social expression, group planning, and cooperative endeavor whose values cannot be overlooked.

Performance Activities Closely akin to, and perhaps artificially distinguished from, the foregoing are clubs which center around certain esthetic or artistic interests and which tend to afford greater opportunity for public performance or demonstration. Again, one could list examples at great length, but the most common of such groups are the various types of dramatic organizations, the several musical ensembles, choral, orchestral, and band, the school journalistic or publications enterprises, and the like. These are both intellectual and social in function and again involve both educational opportunities and pedagogical problems which can be met only with difficulty, if at all, in the regular classroom. Such organizations like sports, are likely to play another role in school affairs. Involving as they do a greater degree of public performance, these activities inevitably become important elements in a school's public relations and as such are important to the entire community. Since most, if not all, teachers will find themselves in positions of some responsibility for activities of this nature, it seems clear that anyone contemplating a career in teaching should prepare himself to assume such a responsibility in

some fashion No program of teacher education can afford to neglect this vital aspect of the teacher's job

Social Activities. In most schools many clubs and much of the out-of-class program will be organized around purely social activities. Special groups will get together to learn to dance, to play bridge, or to sponsor certain social events, such as the entertainment of parents or the serving of tea at parent teacher meetings The entire school, or classes within the school, will present social events of various kinds, dances, banquets, carnivals, and the like The ostensible purpose of all functions of this sort is recreational, but the potential for intensive and extensive social education is almost limitless If the school fails to provide for and encourage the healthy expression of the social instinct, that instinct will be served outside of school in ways less likely to be desirable and without appropriate supervision

Athletic Activities In the United States no school activity is better known than the athletic program From the mid western county seat with its high school basketball team to the metropolitan university with its high powered, some would say quasi professional, football machine, the influence and impact of athletics upon American school life is marked and pervasive No phase of educational life receives as much attention in press, radio, or films as do school and college sports From the standpoint of school-community relations, here is the out-of-class activity par excellence, and its potential for good and for ill must be reckoned with

Probably no school in the country would consider the total elimination of extracurricular athletics from its program, although the degrees of its importance vary significantly from one school to another Perhaps at no other point is there as much unanimity among professional educators and the average citizen as to the place and value of extra class school activity It may well be that at no other point is public support of an educational undertaking so clear and decisive as with athletics Compare, for example, a community's attendance at football or basketball games with its voting record at school board elections While the degree of enthusiasm for athletics may tend to unbalance the total educational program, there is nonetheless good and sound reason for the high place it holds in professional and public esteem

All the virtues which have been mentioned in connection with other types of activities can be claimed for athletics. In addition, important benefits are the product of an educational environment properly balancing mental and physical pursuits. To contend, as some do, that such activities are of a lesser order in the pedagogical hierarchy, or to fail to recognize the intellectual advantages of healthy physical exercise is to reject both the ancient Greek ideal and the things we now know to be true about the human organism.

The large place held by athletics in school life poses a number of serious problems. One in particular is germane to this discussion, the problem which someone has called spectatoritis. In this age of movies, radio, television, and other mechanical entertainment forms many see school athletics as a similar form of activity in which the mass merely looks on while the talented few participate. We run the risk, it is held, that in our eagerness to promote physical development we will elevate performance, technical skill, above participation until the values inherent in sports are available only to those who are the most proficient. We need not labor this further except to point out that schools and teachers, indeed all persons genuinely interested in good, all round education, must be fully aware of the problem. There is a danger that, in a total school context, athletics can come to loom excessively large,¹ there is a concomitant danger that, in reaction to such excess, a school might curtail physical education too much.

Political Activities. The Educational Policies Commission in its statement on *The Purposes of Education in American Democracy* lists four categories of goals for American education. The fourth, and many would contend the most important, category is labeled 'the objectives of civic responsibility.' Any discussion of the school's role in fostering civic responsibility would deal extensively and incisively with the conduct of regular studies of American history and government, social and economic problems, the role of the United States in world affairs, and so on. There is no intelligent responsibility without understanding. But neither is there effective responsibility without practice, and the

¹ For an able and extended discussion of this and related questions see Educational Policies Commission *School Athletics: Problems and Policies* (Washington: D. C., National Education Association, 1954).

school has a duty toward the larger democratic society to provide opportunities for such practice

John Dewey has likened the modern school to a miniature society and insists that, in the interest of the fullest development of its students, the school must attempt to provide as complete a sociopolitical education as possible. The opportunities for the practice and application of political principles which a school can provide may well constitute the most important single phase of that school's program.

There is much opportunity for this sort of experience within the modern classroom. Students can and do democratically select subjects for study, conduct classes along the lines of accepted parliamentary procedure, or organize classes into facsimiles of significant social institutions. All this, however, is usually conducted within a prearranged framework, subject always to the higher authority of faculty and administration. The school can and should go further, providing, especially in high school and college, full and free political experience for its students.

Out-of-class debating societies, discussion groups, forums, and the like have long been important parts of the extracurriculum. More recently, political education has been promoted through the medium of student service clubs of various kinds. Particularly was this true during World War II when students were asked to participate in a wide variety of war related community projects. This participation proved both the effectiveness of utilizing students in this fashion and, more important in the long run, the potential for political education inherent in activities of this sort.

Most important of all is the now widespread establishment of systems of student government in schools, colleges, and universities throughout the country. While there is no end to debate as to the degree to which students should be accorded political independence in the conduct of their school lives, there seems little disagreement as to the value of some provision in schools for student self government. Such arrangements vary all the way from the relatively simple responsibilities attendant upon the planning of social functions to the more complex and more adult responsibilities for student behavior on campus and the maintenance of codes of honor. In certain univer

sities student government involves the administration of considerable sums of money and the supervision of sizable numbers of employees, it becomes in very truth big business

There seems little doubt that a school's obligations to the objectives of civic responsibility¹ require some provision for genuine student practice of such responsibility. It is not the intention here to consider the scope or the limits which should be set upon such activity. It is vital, however, that teachers and the public generally recognize this aspect of school life for what it is, a sincere effort to prepare youth for the duties and functions of citizenship. Prospective teachers must anticipate that this sort of function will be part and parcel of their professional lives and must prepare for it. Similarly, parents and the general public have an obligation to understand and cooperate with this and all efforts on the part of schools to develop democratic citizenship.

Two prime dangers need to be noted and guarded against. Too often faculty zeal for the activities and the tangible fruits of student government (and occasionally faculty laziness) produces a situation in which student affairs and campus politics supersede the regular educational program. In many high schools it is the rare senior who is not able to arrange at will to be excused from classes in order to participate in some student activity. In other schools the very plethora of student functions necessarily pushes the academic program into the background. As in most areas of life and education, here too a balance must be struck and maintained so that neither the necessary formal side nor the equally necessary informal side of school life will be exaggerated out of its just proportions.

The second danger may be the aftermath of an excessive program of student activities. This is the danger of faculty, and occasionally public, insincerity on the matter of student responsibility. Under the pressure of student demand or the influence of enlightened but misunderstood example, school faculties or administrators have all too frequently established pseudo student governments in which all important responsibilities are kept out of student hands. This institution of a façade of self government, this lip service to the principle of democracy, does far more harm than the outright denial of such

responsibility, for it creates in the young mind cynicism and disillusionment, and indeed may promote irresponsibility. The teacher in today's American schools must be prepared to live and to suffer with faltering, stumbling inefficiency in the administration of student affairs as the students themselves take on increased responsibilities. But will they really learn democratic behavior any other way?

School Services

In addition to providing regular classes and the activities just reviewed, schools have become important agencies of social service. While we customarily speak of going into teaching to indicate an intention to serve as a teacher, we are prone to forget the rather extensive additional services which the modern school must provide. These services are generally regarded both as aids to more effective learning and as elements of social welfare which can be most efficiently and appropriately handled through the schools. This brief glimpse is by no means exhaustive, but it should suggest something of the scope of modern American school activity and something of the breadth and variety of professional challenge which education affords.

Health Services The schools have become agencies for the maintenance and improvement of community health. It is almost traditional today to regard the primary grades as the place where sound health habits are emphasized, and most school systems include studies of personal hygiene, sanitation, and public safety in their required curricula. But the modern school goes far beyond this. It provides more or less steady and rigorous supervision over the general health of the students, with, ordinarily, regular physical and dental examinations, vaccinations and inoculations, tests of vision and hearing, and the like. Health facilities generally include a regularly attendant registered nurse and a medical staff on call. Such personnel increasingly function as full fledged faculty members, serving on appropriate faculty committees, participating in the counseling program, and occasionally taking part in the regular instruction. If the school carries the responsibility for serving meals to its students, dietary advice and supervision are essential. This has grown much more important in recent years

as a result of the policy of making surplus foods available to schools through the federal school lunch program. A concern for the health of children and youth as students has led the American school to assume ever larger responsibilities for physical well being until today schools in almost every community stand as major instruments in the general promotion of public health.²

Guidance. Many would hold that, next to instruction in fundamental knowledge and skills, guidance is the school's chief responsibility. Certainly few would deny that a conception of teaching or education which omits guidance is decidedly incomplete and unsatisfactory. When the American school served only one or a very limited selection of scholastic needs through the medium of a single curriculum, the problem of guiding students doubtless appeared only incidentally, if at all. Now that the American school serves an endless number and variety of needs in an infinitely more complex society through the medium of a wide variety of curricula, the school's obligation to guide and counsel is hardly debatable.

Schools conduct their guidance programs in a number of different ways. In general, the larger city school systems have established systematic provisions for counseling students, with administrative departments of guidance, sizable staffs of full time counselors, and elaborate facilities for testing, interviewing, and advising students. More frequently, less extensive and more informal arrangements obtain, with perhaps a few full time guidance personnel but with the major responsibilities for counseling assigned to the regular teachers. Increasingly some centralized agency is being set up within a school wherein data on students are collected, collated, and filed for use by teachers and counselors as needed. Frequently the responsibility for guidance is assigned to those teachers whose classes are required of all students, or special classes, usually known as home rooms, are organized where general administrative functions are handled, and these lend them

² That this department of school service is widely accepted by the general public is illustrated by the following note which a small child brought to school. Dear Miss Brown. Please weigh Suzy at the close of school today and then send her right home without anything to eat or drink. I want to check the scales here at the house. Thank you.

selves, at least superficially, to serving the guidance needs of the school.

As the school's program and responsibilities have increased, the scope of the guidance function has also broadened markedly. Originally, and in all too many places this conception continues, guidance was seen as concerned exclusively with matters of an academic nature—the planning of programs, the selection of courses, the meeting of requirements. This minimal and relatively rudimentary view of guidance has recently, and in some schools rapidly, given way to a far more inclusive assessment of the school's responsibility. Guidance, as with the curriculum and the life of the school generally, has come more and more to be concerned with the whole child, the total personality. For adequate academic counseling it is increasingly coming to be recognized that physical, emotional, social, and larger cultural factors must be taken into account. The modern counselor is confronted with an enlarged responsibility. He must first of all possess some expertness or competence in the manner of understanding human behavior. He must be thoroughly acquainted with all aspects of the curriculum, both in his school and in others to which his students may move—colleges, technical and trade schools, professional schools, and many more. He must know his community well, for no understanding of individual problems is adequate without some awareness of the cultural forces which have helped to shape the individual. Some may remark that these requirements ought to be met by the ordinary teacher as well. Many are convinced that in the vast majority of cases the competent, wise, and warm hearted teacher is likely to stand as the most successful, most effective counselor. Surely, here lies a professional opportunity of incalculable excitement and challenge.

Psychiatric Service. Our discussion of health and guidance has alluded to a new dimension in school service, one which is gaining increasing recognition as a genuine, essential feature of a truly modern educational program. We have spoken of going beyond the more conventional areas of physical health and academic programming; specifically we refer here to the growing importance in school and college operations of the various forms of psychological and psychiatric assistance. It is no longer defensible to handle problems of so-called

discipline, difficulties in social adjustment or even questions of occupational choice without regard for mental health and emotional stability. The sciences of psychology and psychiatry have established principles of human behavior and techniques for the diagnosis of behavior problems which no educational program can afford to ignore. As finances and the availability of qualified personnel allow, schools and colleges are retaining psychologists on a regular or consultant basis to assist in the facilitation of student adjustment.

Library Service. No less central to the full and productive operation of a modern school is the school library. For many teachers the library is at least as important as the classroom. While textbooks may be assigned, the materials of the library are the chief means of acquainting the student with conflicting opinion, contradictory points of view, or ideas and information which carry him outside the prescribed frame work of his class. The school librarian is in a truly unique and strategic position. He serves, or can serve, student and community as teacher, counselor, research assistant, and opener of new vistas.

* * *

An earlier chapter called attention to the essential relationship which must obtain between formal education and a healthy program of student activities if the American school is to make the optimum contribution to democratic living. This chapter has attempted to place these nonformalized elements of modern education in the perspective of history and to underscore their importance. As we consider the Chemistry Club, the *a capella* choir, the Senior Ball, the all county track meet, or the Junior Statesmen, we must see them as vitally and genuinely educational. These are not mere adjuncts to a prescribed course of study. Neither, however, are all possible activities which a school might sponsor of equal merit; both the teachers and the public must establish clear criteria by which to assess such possibilities.³

Similarly, the wide variety of services performed by schools and colleges above and beyond the teaching function is also all important. We

³ For a deft fable treating of this matter see Paul Woodring *Less Talk Sense about Our Schools* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1953), Chap. IX.

cannot afford to overlook the fact that school services of the type described are themselves intrinsically educational, and for some students they may answer basic educational needs which no regular class could reach. Here, as with extracurricular activities, balance and manageability are vital concerns, the question of just how much a school can handle effectively cannot be ignored. (We consider this matter with respect to the curriculum in Chapter 24.) But surely, the school's efforts to promote physical and emotional health, to offer wise counsel, or to lead the student into new areas of challenge and excitement are potentially educational resources of incalculable richness. It is, after all, the *total* school experience which makes the impact.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

BASIC QUESTION What basic and valuable experiences, crucial to growth and maturation, would be lost in a school from which noninstructional activities were excluded? In other words, what is the educational role of these pursuits?

- 1 Consider your own precollege experience. What improvements or changes would you suggest—and why—in the conduct of (a) the guidance program, (b) the use of the school library, (c) the administration of health services, (d) the intramural (i.e., noninterscholastic) athletic program?
- 2 In general, would you say that the best guidance will be provided by a staff which is also responsible for a certain amount of regular teaching, or by a staff which devotes its entire time to the guidance program? Why?
- 3 In your experience, were such outside-of-class activities as science or history clubs effective and successful *educationally*? What factors were responsible? Is there any danger that these activities could be over-emphasized in a manner detrimental to the entire school effort? How so?
- 4 To what extent is it justifiable to expect a teacher with a full schedule of regular classes to be active in leading, sponsoring, or participating in noninstructional activities? In other words, to what extent are these a genuine part of the teacher's responsibility?
- 5 One of the crucial problems in this area lies in the institution of student government. As a training ground for democratic citizenship, its place

in school life is essential. But, what are the criteria for determining the limits of student responsibility? To what extent should high school or college students be expected or allowed to "govern themselves"?

6. Granted the premise of this chapter, that student activities are definitely educationally justifiable, are you prepared to set any limits to the school's responsibility in such matters? Would you approve high school sponsorship of such activities as a "Be bop" record club, a 'hot rod' tournament, instruction in baby sitting, or an employment agency?

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PART *four*

THE ADMINISTRATION
OF
AMERICAN EDUCATION

There are two traditions which have shaped the history of school administration in the United States, and no description of American education would begin to be adequate which neglected either one. Various designations have been assigned to these two bases of our educational administrative machinery—decentralization and centralization, localism and nationalization, or most commonly, local control as contrasted with state and federal authority and responsibility. Without the workings of *both* these forces, the American school system would today be something vastly different from what it is. One question to which this section addresses itself is that of the ways in which the forces of decentralization have influenced the development of education in the United States and, similarly, the impact of increasing centralization upon the schools.

But today, more than at any previous time, we need to go further and examine into the degree to which these forces have operated and continue to operate beneficially, productively, in a manner appropriate to the demands of twentieth-century American life. In a later chapter we shall be raising the specific question of the desirable pattern for relations between local school authorities and the Federal government's interest in education. In Part Four our chief concern is with the broad, general principles which have emerged as a result of the complementary operation of these two apparently opposing conceptions, both of them authentically American and both productive of immense benefits to the nation. A second underlying question and one of crucial significance at mid-century deals with the intrinsic value, from the standpoint of educational well-being, of local control and of centralized authority. This section in its first three chapters discusses these traditions as they operate on the local, state, and federal levels.

A fourth topic concerns the introduction into contemporary educational thought of what may, and many hope will, become still a third "authentic" tradition. We refer here to the beginnings of the consideration of education as an *international* problem and responsibility, of the conception that international organization, harmony, and eventually integration must rely in the last analysis upon an international, world-consuming *educational* effort. This chapter briefly examines the philosophy and operation of the educational arm of the United Nations—the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization—and certain of the specific educational problems involved in such an unprecedented effort.

CHAPTER 12

Education and “Grass-Roots” Democracy: The Administration of Education at the Local Level

General Introduction—The Development of the Three Levels of Educational Jurisdiction

WHILE IN THIS SECTION we examine somewhat separately the patterns of school administration on the local, state, and federal levels, we must conceive of these as parts of an integrated whole and not as though they were independent competing jurisdictions. This three tiered system of school administration developed in considerable measure by accident and not by design. The operation of all aspects of American education today is based upon and in large measure governed by an increasing degree of interrelatedness and interdependence among these three administrative levels. The local and state systems of school administration are virtually indistinguishable from each other at many points, although clear lines of demarcation of authority and responsibility are absolutely essential. Federal responsibility and support are constantly looming larger on the educational scene, it is of the utmost importance that expansions of federal activities in education be accomplished with strict regard for the place and function of state and local

authority To set the discussion of both the organizational patterns at the various levels and the inevitable accompanying administrative problems in proper perspective, a brief historical sketch of the evolution of the three jurisdictions is necessary

Local responsibility for the administration of schools represents a long tradition, a well-established pattern in American culture The pattern of small, village or town, units of school administration dates from the earliest period of American colonization and was the necessary response to the political and geographic conditions of those times The origins of this pattern are clearly seen in colonial New England There the public concern that all children become literate, for religious and civic reasons, prompted the provision of educational facilities As settlers moved ever farther away from the early centers of population—Boston, Plymouth, Salem—the difficulties and hazards of transportation and communication seemed to demand independent, localized arrangements for community service The citizen of Dorchester, for example, found it increasingly unsatisfactory to have to depend upon the town fathers of Boston for schools, he objected to contributing to the support of schools over which he had little control, and he found that his distance from the seat of authority often resulted in the provision of education which he considered unsatisfactory Increasingly the new communities established local and independent authority over the conduct of education, and as new settlements multiplied the units of educational administration likewise increased in number Thus was born the school district system which today blankets the nation, for it was this conception of school administration which New Englanders carried with them in the great migrations to the Middle and Far West Varying conditions produce various responses and thus the schools of the colonial mid seaboard and the South were not identical with those of New England There was similarity, however, in the general acceptance of and subscription to the principle of local control of schools, in some respects, southern educational history has demonstrated this allegiance in the clearest terms of all

The eighteenth century was a period of ever increasing decentralization of educational responsibility, the idea of local control of schools became ever more firmly rooted The famous 'School Laws' of the

enforce state school laws, supervise educational standards, administer school funds, or advise on school legislation.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, many came to see a need for closer integration of state and local efforts, the desirability of having a representative of the state serving on the local level to supervise and assist in carrying out state policies. The county was already performing similar functions in other areas. In most states a county or analogous political unit has developed as an intermediary between local and state school authorities, supervising such areas as teacher certification, state curricular standards, school building codes, and the like.

The evolution of patterns of school administration has involved the interweaving of two seemingly contradictory strains, but both equally authentic to the cultural climate of the United States, that of local, decentralized control of schools and that of centralization of authority. That the issue of the proper balance which should obtain between these two is by no means permanently resolved is strikingly demonstrated by contemporary concern as to the place of the Federal government in school operation. It should be noted here that national responsibility for education, like that of the state, is also a genuine feature of American educational history and for the same reasons: the fact of an expanding population and the necessity of a literate citizenry. Gradually, and especially dating from the passage in 1862 of the famous Morrill or Land-Grant College Act and the establishment of a federal office of education in 1867, there has developed a recognition that education is a national, as it is a state and local, responsibility. One of the most critical educational problems of our time is that of adjusting the benefits of local educational authority and the demands of national educational responsibility in such a way that both democratic processes and education are enhanced.

The Organization of Local School Administration

The School District. Out of this historical complex was evolved the prevailing pattern of local school administration, the local school dis-

tract. Of the approximately 100,000 units of government in the United States today, some 60,000 are school districts. Similar in structure and function are the several thousand additional township and county units for the handling of school affairs. Some school districts are coterminous with the political subdivisions of township or county. Many districts have boundaries which bear little relationship to the actual character of the community. All or nearly all hold many important characteristics in common, and all serve as the direct executors of the delegated powers from the state.

While honoring and supporting the principle of local responsibility, it must be recognized that this system is complicated, unwieldy, and wasteful in many respects. Too often school districts are perpetuated long after they have ceased to be genuinely useful. Many times moves for consolidation or combination of school districts in order to pool resources and thus provide more adequate facilities are blocked and defeated in the name of local autonomy. All too frequently local or personal ambitions for prestige or influence lead persons to fight against measures for reducing duplication and overlapping among school districts. All this is further confused when, as in many states, separate school districts exist for each of the school levels. Independent units to administer elementary schools, high schools, and junior colleges in the same area and, generally speaking, for the same clientele, with separate boards and executive departments prevent or hinder the development of continuity and orderly sequence in education.

The trend today is decidedly in the direction of school district consolidation. Improved transportation has meant that schools could serve larger areas, the resultant combination of erstwhile independent school districts has meant the availability of more adequate resources for school support. However even this seemingly altogether desirable reform is accompanied by certain very real problems. The intimacy and warmth often characteristic of the smaller school are all too frequently missing in the larger schools. The close contact between school and community, and the resultant high degree of public interest, are difficult to retain as the district is enlarged. All of which indicates that the movement toward consolidation can be carried too far, to the point

where the real and vital benefits of genuinely local responsibility are lost.

The School Board. The earliest colonial legislation for school affairs assigned the oversight of education to the selectmen or town councils. As this responsibility grew, it became customary for the councils to establish special school committees to discharge the educational business of the community. Gradually, these committees developed status and achieved a degree of permanence until, during the latter part of the eighteenth century, they were established as separate boards of education or committees of school trustees. By the second quarter of the nineteenth century state laws were requiring cities and school districts to maintain lay boards to supervise the administration of education.

It would be impossible to attempt to generalize very much about the *forms, procedures, and functions* of the American school board. These vary markedly from community to community and as the personnel changes. Certain principles and practices, however, seem to be fairly common and generally accepted.

The American school board today is usually an elected body of lay citizens charged, in the words of the Educational Policies Commission, with the "full responsibility for all necessary services of the school system." As the board member is considered representative of an entire community rather than some geographic or social segment, it has become more or less mandatory that he be elected on a strictly nonpartisan basis. The appointment of school trustees by an official elected on a partisan basis (for example, mayor) has too often resulted in school administration governed by political pressures, with the almost inevitable introduction of the spoils system into educational affairs. There are communities in which board members have been elected because of their economic, religious, or other affiliations and communities in which political pressures have loomed large in school administration, but the results have usually been detrimental to the health of the educational program.

For similar reasons certain conditions for board service have been found to be desirable. Increasingly, the elections to office on a school board have been held separately, distinct from the other partisan elec

tions, this in order to prevent confusion of school questions with issues of a general political nature. Board members generally serve without pay, presumably dissuading those who might be moved to use the office to enhance their private fortunes. It has been found wise to institute relatively long terms for school board service, at least four years, in order that ample time may be had to consider and decide upon educational policies and to put these into operation without the interruptions necessitated by frequent election or re-election. To further ensure continuity, staggered or overlapping terms have been generally accepted in order to minimize a wholesale overturn of school boards, with the consequent disruption of educational policy. Finally, with some variation depending upon community size, it appears that an optimum number of board members lies somewhere between five and nine. Too few members would mean a board which is not truly representative, too many would tend to produce inefficiency and, again, increase the possibility for the introduction of partisanship into the conduct of education.

The School Executive. The pre-eminent responsibility of a board of education is the determination of over all policy for the conduct of schools. A century ago, and in some places much more recently, school boards tried to control and supervise all aspects of school operation: the hiring of teachers, the selection of textbooks, the details of curricular organization, and so on. As the educational task grew in scope and complexity, this became increasingly difficult and more and more school authorities began to enlist the services of professional educators to administer school affairs. There emerged the position of superintendent of schools and the beginnings of the elaborate machinery now required to run a modern school system. In fulfilling the responsibility for establishing educational policy, the chief task of any school board is the selection of the superintendent, the chief administrative official. It then becomes the duty of the elected representatives of the community, the school board and their chosen professional executive, the superintendent, jointly to arrive at policies and procedures best calculated to advance the educational interests of the entire community.

The most important and the most difficult aspect of this relationship is the determination of a clear definition of function for both

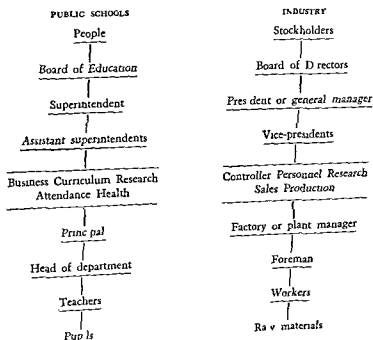
board and superintendent, the clarification of the areas of responsibility appropriate to the lay and professional staffs of a school system. The history of American education is unfortunately all too clearly illustrative of the hazards and injuries to which education is subject when this relationship is misunderstood or misapplied. One cannot generalize for unique situations demand their own special approaches, but some basic principles of procedure can be suggested as exemplifying currently accepted policy in this regard. While not entered here in any order of priority, these must be taken together and seen as a whole for they are all interdependent.

Perhaps the basic criterion in establishing the relative roles of board and school administrator is the fact that final authority rests with the people, hence with the people's representatives—the board of education. The board in meeting this responsibility is expected to seek out, to consider, and to be governed by the recommendations of professional experts. To do otherwise constitutes irresponsibility as well as inconsistency, for a board's appointment of a superintendent presumably indicates a vote of confidence in his ability and a desire to avail itself of his advice and counsel. It seems clear that among the chief areas of the superintendent's responsibility is the matter of employing teachers. While final authority for the conduct of school affairs rests with the board, in this instance the board should make appointments to the school staff only on the basis of the recommendations of the superintendent.

Similarly, the large range of professional questions on which the board must rule must be decided only in terms of considered suggestions and recommendations from the school staff. Questions of curriculum design, of textbook adoption, of school building planning and construction, these and a hundred more are the regular order of school board business. They require expert analysis and advice. This involves the superintendent's responsibility for keeping the board informed on the activities and progress of the schools. Equally, it is his obligation to know his community and to keep abreast of its economic and population trends, its cultural needs, and its educational ambitions. By the same logic, the board should not find it necessary to concern itself with the petty details of school operations. If its concern is with

the large view of educational policy, it should leave to the staff it has hired such questions as the luncheon menu in school cafeterias the purchase of school supplies and the regulation of campus life A policy making body ought not to be occupied with such matters Again, presumably it has reposed confidence in its executive appointee for exactly this reason

The emergence of professional educational administration in the latter half of the nineteenth century coincided with the great post Civil War period of industrial growth It is not unnatural to suppose that developing philosophies and patterns of school administration were influenced, in part at least, by the efficient and successful organization of industry For many school boards and school superintendents, the administrative arrangements for schools took on many of the characteristics of industrial organization R F Butts has attempted to approximate this situation by juxtaposing charts of school and industrial organization, as follows ¹



¹ By permission from *A Cultural History of Education* by R. F. Butts Copyright 1947 McGraw Hill Book Company Inc. p 479

While such a schematic comparison is, as Butts notes, "partly facetious," it does suggest something of the approach which has governed much of school administration ever since. Such a conception implies a more or less hierarchical organization with orders and directives filtering down from the top. It suggests further that the superintendent is much more closely allied to and sympathetic with the board of education than with the teachers, and he takes on the cast of an employer dealing with employees.

In recent years this conception of the role of school administration has been questioned and challenged. Doubts have arisen as to the degree to which such a system was genuinely democratic. Today, more than ever before, the superintendent is coming to be looked upon as the representative of the teaching staff *as well as* the agent of the school board. Just as the properly functioning board turns to the superintendent for professional guidance, so now increasingly school administrators are making educational policy the concern of the entire school staff. If a school is to be the vehicle of education for democratic citizenship, it must itself demonstrate and reflect democratic procedures in its own operation. Policies so constructed, involving all related personnel in their formulation, are certain to produce more effective fulfillment of school responsibilities. No sketch of administrative trends today is complete without mention of the ever increasing number of teachers' councils and staff committees engaged in deliberating on matters of school policy. In systems of this character the program of education becomes a cooperative endeavor involving and, as the Educational Policies Commission aptly states, "capitalizing the intellectual resources of the whole school staff."

Public Responsibility and School-Community Relations. All that has thus far been said might lead some to the conclusion that public responsibility for educational operations is fulfilled with the election of school board members. Leaving aside for the moment the all-important matter of financial support, one must hasten to add that no conclusion could be further from the truth. The essentiality of continued and intelligent lay cooperation in the administration of schools is beyond estimate. No school system, however well staffed or financed,

can operate effectively if in any sense divorced from the community of which it is a part and which it exists to serve

We have just noted the contemporary tendency to make school policy a concern of the entire school staff. We must go on to note further that increasingly questions of school policy are being carried directly to the people as well. The general lay public is taking a larger part in the administration of education, not only through the well established associations of parents and teachers, mothers or dads clubs, and the like, but also through specially developed parents councils, citizens' commissions, and community school agencies. Basic reforms in school curricula or teacher status are ever more frequently presented to the general public, for response and suggestion, *before* final commitments are made. Some school boards and superintendents have even established citizens advisory bodies, broadly representative of their communities, to sit as unofficial counselors on call as matters of consequence to education are considered.

This responsibility for school-community integration can be carried even further, for the educational potential within a community is almost limitless. It is the school's duty to recognize and utilize the resources which lie ready to hand within the community, the resources represented by the citizenry, by industry, art, natural phenomena, churches, and local governmental institutions. Curricular and pedagogical practices which neglect such resources as these not only run the risk of sterility and vacuousness, but also tend to isolate the school from the community and to estrange the public whose support is so essential.

And finally, public responsibility for education and school-community relations are enhanced as the school more and more becomes a vital focus of community life. Earlier, mention was made of the school's contribution to community health and much more might be said of the school's role in developing intelligent citizens and competent workmen to meet the community's civic and economic needs. Here however, let us note the extent to which the school can serve the community in a cultural, social, and recreational sense as well. The modern school has ceased to exist on a nine to three schedule or as an agency for children and youth exclusively. Many have taken to calling the

modern school a community center, which in truth it has become. Consider the adult education programs and the square dancing, the art exhibits and the ping pong tournaments, the concerts or forums and the bazaars and picnics, all of which increasingly center in the school. The services of this sort which the school is uniquely equipped to provide are multiple and the community in which these are offered is more likely to obtain both better education and an improved community life.

Some Basic Problems in Local School Administration

By inference a number of the major problems in school administration have already been noted. Mention has been made, for example, of the critical nature of the question of relations between school board and school staff and the difficult adjustments involved in this relationship. We have noted the equally important problem of maintaining healthy and productive contact between school and community. The question of effecting more democratic administrative procedures within the school system has been briefly considered. Some aspects of the problem of school district consolidation and integration have been examined. Consideration of two other all important problem areas in local school administration may serve to round out this brief examination of what we have chosen to call the grass-roots level of school operation.

The Problem of School Finance. School finance, like school administration generally, must be considered in terms of all three levels of school responsibility: local, state, and federal. Discussion here of the local aspects of this problem must be supplemented by subsequent examination of the parts played by state and Federal governments in the matter of financial support of education. Historically this has been conceived as basically a local responsibility, and it is altogether logical to begin consideration of this question at the local level.

Early enthusiasm for educational provisions was accompanied by a deep-seated reluctance to use direct taxation for school support. Throughout the colonial period and well into the nineteenth century

indirect measures of financing education were employed. Much of the beginnings of "free public" education in America was supported by philanthropic or charitable grants and bequests, this was particularly noteworthy in the middle and southern colonies where various religious societies and other humanitarian groups attempted to maintain schools for the poor. Various forms of indirect taxation were employed, taxes on the manufacture and sale of liquor, on theatrical entertainments, or on lotteries being used in whole or in part to support schools. Frequently certain types of public or municipal income, such as fines, license fees, or the profits from the sale of wood from the town common lands, were designated as school funds. Generally all such sources of school support were supplemented by the "rate bill," a semitutorial charge against parents to make up the difference between the expenses of school operation and the moneys available from public sources.

Toward the close of the eighteenth century, it became increasingly apparent that financial resources of this sort were quite inadequate to develop the kind of education the newborn democracy required. An example of a new method of supporting education, and one of far reaching significance, was set by the Federal government during the period of the Articles of Confederation. The famous Ordinances of 1785 and 1787, establishing procedures for the administration of the vast federally held Northwest Territory, included provisions for the endowment of education with public lands. As the Northwest Territory was formed into states, federal lands were to be set aside as permanent sources of income for school support. Here, it was thought, was a painless yet rewarding means of ensuring adequate funds for education. On the same principle, the state of Connecticut sold its huge holdings (the "Western Reserve") in the Ohio territory and established with the \$1,200,000 thus obtained a 'permanent school fund' by which it was hoped the schools of the state could be financed in perpetuity.

The significance of these actions does not lie in their immediately tangible results. Much of the lands obtained by virtue of the Ordinances fell victim to speculation and mishandling, and the Connecticut scheme resulted in rapid deterioration of schools as local

educational efforts were relaxed on the assumption that the state would now provide. The import of such measures as these is found rather in the lesson they taught and the precedents they set. Attempts such as these to finance education indirectly demonstrated the inevitability of direct taxation if schools were to be supported adequately. Furthermore, these moves indicated growing recognition of the validity and the necessity of state and federal responsibility for education.

Gradually the idea of direct local taxation to support education took hold. The disappearance of most of the earlier sources of revenue, plus the ever growing populations, plus the expanding demands for education forced the development of new and more adequate financial resources. The result, slowly but steadily throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, was the acceptance of the necessity of direct local taxation. States first passed legislation *permitting* local units to tax themselves for schools. Finally the states acted to make such taxation *mandatory*.

Local taxation for schools, as for other public services, originated and continues as taxation of *real property*, land and the improvements thereon. This was the natural action in a predominantly rural, agrarian society where wealth was concentrated in land. It has become increasingly apparent that this system is no longer adequate for educational support. As more children and youth have attended school, as the services have become more extensive and expensive, as the community has demanded more of its schools, the concentration of wealth in real property has constantly diminished. The wealth of the country has moved from the "tangible" to the "intangible," from lands and buildings to stocks, bonds, wages and salaries. At the local level these new forms of wealth are not being tapped, and in general they do not lend themselves to local taxation. It is obvious that the adequacy of school support from local resources is largely a matter of geography, where industry is located, where high-class residential areas are situated, where property values are high, tax revenues are sizable, and schools are more likely to receive adequate financing. Adjacent communities, by virtue of the accident of a railroad route, the location of oil wells, or simply natural attractions, may and do vary in the degree of school support in ratios as high as several hundred to one.

Despite these elemental facts, over the nation at large the school district and county property taxes continue to bear nearly 60 percent of the costs of public elementary and secondary education (We reproduce on the following page a summary statement of the budgetary situation for the Oakland, California, school district, a fairly typical urban center of approximately 500,000 population) It is this situation which has produced the ever more extensive participation of state governments in the financing of education and the increasingly insistent demands that the Federal government assume a larger share of the burden The pre eminently crucial question which this condition poses is this How can we substantially increase the participation of nonlocal units of government in the business of financing education without sacrificing the genuine and essential benefits which come from a system of local educational control?

The Problem of Independent Jurisdiction. It is often argued that the existence of a school system separate and distinct from the rest of municipal service is anomalous, inefficient, wasteful, and unnecessary Political theorists in particular are prone to call for the inclusion of public education within the regular framework of local government They insist that education should be considered simply as one of the several public services which local government provides It is contended that financial responsibility in a community ought to be concentrated with one control body (the city council or board of aldermen) empowered to disburse the public funds It is further maintained that substantial economies and more efficient operation might be realized if certain services of the school system were consolidated with similar services in other government departments

Generally speaking, the school administrator vigorously disagrees with this point of view.² The professional educator insists that school administration *must* be separated from general municipal administration, that only to the degree that this separation is maintained is efficiency in school operation assured The school administrator can

² See for example the statement of the Educational Policies Commission *The Structure and Administration of Education in American Democracy* (Washington D C, National Education Association 1938), on which the subsequent presentation is largely based

OAKLAND PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Summary of General Fund Operating Budget for 1955-56

REVENUE	
Available cash balance	
District taxes	\$ 1,869,609 94
State apportionments	10,849,445 00
Federal aid	9,124,320 00
Other income	436,500 00
<i>Total Estimated Revenue</i>	<u>848,444 00</u>
	\$ 23,128,318 94
EXPENDITURES	
Administration	
Instruction	\$ 697,533 00
Auxiliary services	14,760,010 00
Operation of school plant	503,574 00
Maintenance of school plant	1,507,163 00
Fixed charges	846,119 00
Transportation of pupils	559,067 00
Food services	73,854 00
Community services	30,667 00
Capital outlay	102,172 00
Transfers (tuition)	484,524 00
Deferred accounts (stores)	159,390 00
Special Purpose	811,910 00
Capital outlay	
Unallocated	\$1,000 000 00
Undistributed and General Reserve (Working Balance)	400 000 00
	1,400,000 00
<i>Total Expenditures</i>	<u>1,192,335 94</u>
	\$ 23,128,318 94

Assessed Valuation for 1955-56

Real property	
Personal property	\$410,998,025 00
Utility property	40,979,075 00
<i>Total</i>	<u>73,076,740 00</u>
	\$525,053,840 00

School District Tax Rates for 1955-56

General purpose	
Community services	\$2 0000
Noncertificated retirement	0500
Certificated retirement	0562
Bond retirement	0315
<i>Total</i>	<u>1673</u>
	\$2 3050

Source Supplement to Superintendent's Bulletin, Vol XXXVI, October 6, 1955,
No 3, Oakland, California, Public Schools

point to instances in which the functions of the two jurisdictions have been inadequately defined and allocated with resultant controversies over the appropriate division of authority. He contends that in the vast majority of instances in which regular city officials exert controls over public education the schools have suffered. In situations of this sort education tends to become merely another municipal activity like streets, lighting, or sewage. City officials are prone to forget or ignore the important fact that local authority for education has been *delegated* by the state, and all too frequently local laws or ordinances have been regarded as superior to state legislation. The school administrator finds that the general government, when it has participated in or controlled the financial affairs of a school system, has tended to dictate policy with regard to such matters as school budgets and expenditures, the selection of school sites, the purchase of equipment, and the status of teachers. In summary, the schoolman argues, the evidence indicates (1) that municipal officials in such situations have been hostile to school improvement or expansion (there are rare instances of city or town administrators taking the lead in educational advance), and (2) that when municipal governments have been in positions of authority over school administration, the schools have tended to become involved in politics to an altogether undesirable degree. As the result of some four to five hundred court cases which have arisen over this matter of the distribution of authority, it is not surprising that the courts have consistently held that "education is a function of the state and that in local administration of schools the board of education representing the state is supreme."

The question insistently arises, however, why should not all the money available for all public services be pooled, and each phase of governmental activity then be required to plead its case for funds before some central fiscal authority, receiving money only in the light of the total expenses of municipal government? The educator argues as follows: education, more perhaps than any other public operation, is dependent upon the willingness of the people to spend and sacrifice in its behalf. The amount to be spent upon schools should be decided by the people directly (as in school bond elections) or by those elected to administer the schools. With such a decision left in the hands of

the general municipal authority, curtailment of expenditure for education is almost inevitably the result

Moreover, the appointments of personnel in the noneducational areas of government service are largely if not preponderantly handled upon the basis of political patronage. If the general government is to control school finances, it should also control school personnel procedures. To the educator, this makes it unlikely that school staff would be maintained on a high professional, nonpolitical plane. There is, too, the corollary danger that schools financially dependent upon other government agencies would be more subject to political influences and pressures. To ensure freedom of inquiry, study, and discussion in the schools, it seems abundantly clear that the control of education must be as far removed as possible from the potential of political domination. The matter of fiscal independence for boards of education lies at the very heart of the question of general educational freedom.

At least, then, say the proponents of merger, let us economize and eliminate wasteful duplication by consolidating some school activities or services with those of a similar nature performed by the nonschool agencies of government. If all units of government, including the schools, were to use the same facilities or employ the same procedures, in such areas as accounting, the selection of noncertificated personnel, or the purchase of supplies, substantial savings could be realized. Unfortunately, responds the school administrator, this too is educationally unsound. School accounts have little in common with those kept by other departments, especially is this true in the matter of attendance and enrollment data. For purposes of efficient school operation, school accounts must be kept separate, distinct, and constantly available for use by the board or the superintendent. The suggestion that the non-teaching personnel of the school system, the secretaries, custodians, cafeteria staff, and the like, be appointed and supervised by the general municipal civil service is also rejected. Such persons as these will be in constant contact with children, and their influence for good or ill can be considerable. These must necessarily be of a higher caliber than is usually required of their counterparts in nonschool departments. Appointment by a general civil service authority does not ensure that these standards would be respected, and again the danger of political

spoils cannot be overlooked. The business end of school administration, matters of purchasing, maintenance, and the provision of school supplies, are not susceptible to consolidation. Indeed, common practice today in the larger school systems is to establish an office of assistant or deputy superintendent for business affairs. Purchasing supplies and equipment for schools involves extensive understanding of school activities, professional competence and close contact with the board of education are essential. These conditions would not be satisfied through the incorporation of school business affairs into the general government.

* * *

This chapter has attempted to describe and define something of the character of local school administration, certain of the more significant problems which appear at this level of jurisdiction, and, it is hoped, an indication of the centrality of this aspect of educational operation to the total democratic process. A commitment to certain principles of local school administration is meant to be implicit in the remarks just concluded. Governing and coloring all has been the assumption that schools (private as well as public, though the emphasis here has been on the latter) *must* be administered, essentially, at the local level. Schools will flourish, in the final analysis, only as they are kept close to the people and to the communities they serve. While recognizing the necessity for state supervision and federal participation in the maintenance of education, we are committed to the integrity of the local school district insofar as district organization does not itself impede genuine educational advance. Similarly, the independence of school administration at the local level from both partisan involvements and general governmental jurisdiction is essential. Problems of curricular organization, school finance, or educational standards cannot be treated as we handle questions of zoning, street construction, or garbage disposal. To be sure, education, like other public responsibilities, requires expert professional leadership. But that leadership is helpless without strong public support, and that support is forthcoming only as the schools are administered at the "grass roots."

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

BASIC QUESTION Could you say that, in the interests of promoting and advancing democracy in the United States, continued local control of education is essential? What are the benefits of local control of schools which you feel cannot be attributed to any other form of educational authority?

- 1 Historically, what conditions in early American life necessitated the establishment of a policy of local authority for the conduct of education? To what extent do these conditions still obtain?
2. What weaknesses or inadequacies can result, indeed have resulted, from an overemphasis upon local control of schools?
- 3 If local control of education is so important, if the concept of responsibility "close to home" is so vital here, how do you account for the fact that national elections almost invariably bring out an infinitely larger number of voters than do elections to local school boards?
- 4 What are some of the major improvements which modern conditions require in the organization of the machinery of local school administration?
5. Assume yourself the newly appointed superintendent of schools in a district which is complacent, indeed apathetic about its educational responsibilities. What steps might you take to "wake up" the community to its duties and obligations, to help the community demonstrate that local control is a vital, necessary element in the effective operation of schools?
- 6 What principles or criteria should govern the composition of a local board of education? If you had the power, on what bases would you arrange for the membership of such a board?
- 7 In how far then (see question No 1) is local control of education an outmoded principle, an obsolete ideal? To what extent does continued subscription to local control impede essential, vital improvements in the conduct of education?

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Education and Representative Democracy: The Administration of Education at the State Level

Historical Development of the State Educational Authority

WE HAVE SEEN how the colonial period in America was featured by ever increasing decentralization of educational responsibility. The conditions of colonial life were such as to make larger units of school control impractical, undesirable, and unnecessary. Sparse and scattered populations, with attendant hardships of communication, necessarily encouraged a sentiment of independent local authority in all civic activities. While there were evidences of colony wide concern for education, as in Massachusetts, these did not materially alter the trend toward more or less complete autonomy for the local unit in school affairs.

During the early national period, the newly formed states continued to strengthen local educational authority. In Massachusetts the state began by providing legal sanction for the already existing district system. This was soon followed by a grant to the district of the power to levy taxes for the support of schools within the district. By a third

step, the districts received from the state a legal status which made them independent of both the state and other civic governmental units. School districts became as powerful and autonomous in school administration as were the towns in regular civil administration. This tendency of the state to abdicate its authority over education reached its peak as districts were empowered through their local boards of education to license and certify teachers, select and approve textbooks, and in general to set their own standards for all aspects of educational activity.

It was this conception of school administration which began to sweep westward as the great migrations moved away from the Atlantic seaboard. There seems little question of the appropriateness of such a system to the conditions of frontier life. Before the days of rapid transportation and communication local provision for education was inevitable, if there were to be schools at all. It is not hard to understand how the local school, the little red schoolhouse, became for the American people 'the palladium of popular liberties,' the epitome of all that was thought to be desirable and essential in the democratic tradition. As the smallest unit of political power, and the one closest to the people, the local school and school district came to represent both a symbol and a definite vested interest. There was and there continues to be great reluctance to give up this pattern of school administration. For political as well as sentimental reasons this heritage of local educational responsibility looms large today in conflicts over the scope of state authority or the desirability of increased federal educational responsibility.

The trend of decentralization began to reverse itself during the second quarter of the nineteenth century, as is evidenced by the appearance and growth of state and city school administrative systems. As the population increased ever more rapidly, school enrollments and the demands on schools also increased. These influxes of population coincided with the great wave of humanitarianism which swept the country during the 1820's and 1830's. A major element of this new social consciousness was an enlarged interest in education and a concern that its benefits be extended. Stemming from these conditions and from the firm belief in education as vital to the health of democratic institutions, compulsory school attendance laws began to appear. New demands,

higher standards, vastly larger enrollments, these were conditions with which in many instances the small local districts were unable and unequipped to deal effectively

In this way there developed a growing realization that the state governments had to hold a real responsibility for education. It became apparent that the state was the logical unit to meet the expanded needs. The state could supply, through its larger tax base, more adequate financial resources. The state could draw upon a larger area for competent educational leadership. In theory the state was in a far better position to view educational questions on a broad scale and to set policies uninhibited by local peculiarity or recalcitrance. Furthermore, nothing in this view of the place of the state conflicted with the established legal status of the state. The beginnings of real state responsibility for education were actually an assertion by states of power which was latent in their legal position. As we have seen, all that the districts had done heretofore had had origins in grants of authority from colonial or state governments. The federal constitution was held clearly to have left educational responsibility with the states. Although this movement was challenged from the outset by local school units bent on retaining complete independence, this interpretation of state authority in education was consistently upheld by the courts. The principle rapidly, though not always quietly, gained general acceptance.

The first state educational officials were put into office in the state of New York. In 1784 there was established an organizational arrangement known as the University of the State of New York to administer the educational activities of the state. Under a Board of Regents this agency assumed responsibilities over all manner of educational affairs and is today the policy making and enforcing body for education from elementary school through college and university. By 1812 New York had created the first state superintendency, apparently having found need for an official to supervise the disbursement of state funds granted for school purposes.

While significant, these events really preceded the trend. The major impetus to effective state school administration came in the 1830's with the establishment of state boards of education in Massachusetts and Connecticut and the appointment in those states of two remark-

able men as secretaries to the boards (that is, state superintendents of schools) These were Horace Mann in Massachusetts and Henry Barnard in Connecticut Both men were, primarily, great publicists for the cause of public education Through extensive, almost incessant, writing, speaking, and travel, they demonstrated the need for improved educational standards and the consequent critical role of the state government in providing and maintaining such standards Mann, chiefly through his annual reports to the board and the legislature, and Barnard with the *American Journal of Education* the first great educational magazine, brought these questions luminously before the public It was unquestionably because of the campaigning of these men and of lesser known but very able men in other states—Caleb Mills in Indiana, Calvin Stowe in Ohio, John Sweet in California for example—that public opinion began to be mobilized in support of greater educational activity and responsibility on the part of state governments

As has been noted in the case of New York, the emergence of state responsibility revolved around the matter of supplying financial assistance to local school districts Early in this movement states began to devise and install methods of collection and apportionment of state school funds It was not long before many began to demand that the disbursement of state moneys be conditional upon the local districts meeting certain standards As a result, the districts, in order to receive state aid, were soon required to meet state set standards regarding such matters as the minimum length of the school year the qualifications of teachers, or the character of textbooks By mid-century there were evidences that state apportionment (as in the case of Connecticut and the Western Reserve money) might contribute to relaxation of local efforts to finance education To counteract this tendency, the 'matching' principle was introduced, a scheme whereby the state would agree to contribute only as much as the local unit itself was willing to spend This too amounted to the setting of a standard by state authority

These conditions required a more professionalized personnel to administer education at the state level As Brubacher notes,¹

¹ By permission from *A History of the Problems of Education* by John S. Brubacher
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Setting standards and inspecting to see whether they had been met became technical tasks that ex-officio state superintendents of public instruction were little competent to perform. As a result, this important office moved steadily toward an independent status demanding the full-time services of a man of the highest professional abilities. Hindering the selection of such a man, however, was the method by which he frequently was selected for office. As the office came to prominence just after the opening of the era of the common man, it frequently became an elective one. The effect of Jacksonian democracy being to treat public office as a non-technical occupation and one easily within the competence of the common man, the custom naturally grew up of making the state superintendent of schools submit his qualifications to the suffrage of the people. Most states still continued this practice in the twentieth century, but the tendency of progressive states was toward having this officer appointed either by the state board of education, as was originally the case in Massachusetts and Connecticut, or by the governor of the state.

It is obvious that subsequent cultural and technological developments have made the position of state superintendent of schools an increasingly complex and difficult one. The impact of mounting populations and growing congestion, of rapid transportation and communication, of the changing demands upon education, to mention only the more obvious general forces, has been to increase the responsibility of the state and the burden upon the state. We turn now to examine some of the more common educational responsibilities which have come to reside in the state and a few of the ways in which these charges are administered.

The General Functions of the State Educational Authority

While the assertion of the authority of state governments over schools was not finally consummated without considerable objection and legal controversy, the basic principles from which this authority derives are now quite clear and generally accepted. The late William W. Kemp, Dean of the School of Education of the University of California and a long time student of state school administration, described the edu-

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cational responsibility and power of the state in terms of seven primary obligations.² The state, said Kemp, is responsible for

1. Providing a system of schools which meet the minimum standards set by the state,
2. Maintaining a system of schools which are open to *all* children,
3. Maintaining a system of schools which are free from sectarian or denominational influences,
4. Insuring that the public schools carry *no* taint of charity, that the schools are entirely free of any reflection of the old 'pauper school' idea,
5. Maintaining a system of schools in which the duties and obligations as well as the benefits of public education are shared by all the people,
6. Asserting the prior rights of the state to pass laws regulating the conduct of schools within the separate districts and
7. Providing educational facilities in the event that a local district fails to do so

Today these do not sound particularly striking. Of course, you say, the state *must* do these things. But their realization is the fruit of a long struggle. It is significant that these seven principles of state educational authority roughly parallel the famous seven "Battles for Free Schools" featured in the discussions of American educational history by the late Elwood P. Cubberley of Stanford University. For when Cubberley writes of the 'battle to make the schools entirely free,' he is describing the fight of those who championed the state's right to provide schools for everyone. Cubberley's analysis of the 'battle to eliminate sectarianism' involves the duty of the state to keep the public schools *uninfluenced or unhampered by the narrowness of any denominational dogma*. And when Cubberley discusses the battle to establish the American high school, he is redefining the state's obligation to set and enforce standards, and the right of the state to act when a local unit is unwilling or unable to do so.

Two important nineteenth-century court decisions were instrumental in helping to establish and solidify the supreme power of the state in

² Expansion of this conception is to be found in Elwood P. Cubberley, *State School Administration: A Textbook of Principles* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1927), especially Chaps. V and XXVI. See also R. F. Butts and L. A. Cremin, *A History of Education in American Culture* (New York: Holt, 1953), pp. 241-266.

educational affairs. The first of these (1890) was a case which placed in dispute the right of the state of Indiana to involve itself in the matter of providing textbooks for school children. By state law the Indiana Commissioner of Education was empowered to select textbooks, to accept bids on the printing and publication of such books, and to require their purchase by the local school authorities. This forced the districts to furnish their students with specified books at specified prices, and this was felt by many to be beyond the proper bounds of state power. In a decision which has served as a fundamental legal precedent for many subsequent similar cases, the Indiana Supreme Court ruled in favor of the state on the following grounds:

- 1 That any matters pertaining to the education of the future leaders of the state are both the proper business and the responsibility of the state
- 2 That whatever powers in educational affairs are exercised by local school districts are in the final analysis grants of authority from the state and that the state is the central power, the supreme unit in the operation of public education
- 3 That since the law in question came from the state legislature, a body directly responsible to the people it is no infringement of popular rights for that body to act in matters pertaining to education

In a more spectacular case the authority of the state received further legal sanction as the result of a situation which arose in the town of Watervliet, New York, in 1897. At that time the town of Watervliet was apparently in the throes of a political dispute which had split the local board of education into two equal hostile factions. In a two-to-two deadlock over school policies and staff appointments, one group sought to open the schools for the new academic year. The opposing faction obtained a court injunction to prevent the superintendent from staffing and reopening the schools. As a result the schools of the district remained closed for two months. Finally, the state superintendent ordered that the schools be opened and appointed a temporary staff under an administrative officer representing the state. On the grounds that this constituted an unwarranted and illegal usurpation of local prerogatives by the state, one of the two opposing factions appealed to the courts, demanding withdrawal of the state authority.

The ruling of the court in this case is both instructive and significant for it, like the *Indiana* case, has since stood as an important precedent in determining matters of educational jurisdiction. The court struck down the objections of the appealing faction and upheld the action of the state superintendent without reservation. The court reasoned that

1. The state constitution required that *all* children shall be educated, thus placing the state government in the position of ultimate responsibility for insuring that education,
2. Since the common schools and the education of all children are concerns of all the people of the state, and not of some one district alone, the state is obligated to represent that common concern,
3. The local school board had failed in its constitutionally delegated responsibility to provide free public education, therefore, the state's duty toward the entire community was clear and unmistakable, and finally
4. The local charter of the town of Watervliet had recognized and accepted the final jurisdiction of the state superintendent over local educational affairs

Through these and many other similar cases the courts have consistently decided in favor of the ultimate authority of the state over education. There is still much room for debate as to the extent to which, in possession of unlimited authority, the state should go in regulating education. But, as conditions have hastened, so the courts and legislatures have underwritten the centralization of educational authority.

By the early years of the twentieth century the outlines of the specific powers assumed by the states had become clear. We can collect these basic powers (again after Kemp) under four major headings. In the first place, the state has assumed the right to protect what the American people have come to call the educational rights of children. Not only, as in *Watervliet*, has the state taken upon itself the duty of keeping schools open. The state has also, through the pressure of public opinion, enacted laws compelling school attendance and establishing machinery to enforce that attendance. Our recent history has seen the continued upward extension of the compulsory school age level with corollary increased responsibilities laid upon the state, and this seems destined for renewed extensions in the not too distant future. In

the second place, the state has assumed and asserted the right to establish minimum educational standards to be applicable throughout the state. Today all states are prescribing minimum curricula, requiring that certain subjects be taught, that certain others be available, and in a few instances that still others be omitted or minimized. Minimum standards are applied in such areas as the specific qualifications for teachers at the various grade levels, the length of school day or year, and, occasionally, the amount of time to be spent on particular studies or activities, the specifications for school buildings, playgrounds, and school busses, and, less tangibly, the content of school textbooks and other teaching materials. In the third place, and this is obvious by implication, the state possesses and utilizes the power to enforce the maintenance of these standards. To this end, the state department of education may have quasi-judicial powers by which it reviews the qualifications of all candidates for teaching and accepts or rejects them accordingly, or it may possess authority to inspect and examine and to approve or condemn various aspects of the conduct of education. Perhaps the state's most powerful means of enforcement lies in the fourth category of responsibility: the provision of financial support and the regulation of that support. The modern trend in educational finance follows the direction of the moves we have been describing in educational administration generally. As educational demands and costs increase, the degree to which local school units must receive support from the state likewise increases. Many districts in many states are largely, some almost entirely, dependent upon financial assistance from the state treasury. Some would say that this provision of monetary aid to local school districts is the state's primary educational function. Few would deny that it constitutes a potent mechanism for obtaining cooperative acceptance of standards set by the state. State fiscal controls are also apparent when states set limits on the extent to which school districts may bond themselves for school expansion.

The state's primary powers and functions might be summarized as being concerned essentially with two areas: (1) the support of local education and (2) the supervision and regulation of local education. After a brief examination of the structural organization of state educational administration, we shall return to these two primary areas, for

they constitute the sources of the most basic and critical problems affecting the relationships of state and local educational authority.

The Organization of the State Educational Authority

State school administration in the United States is, generally speaking, tripartite in structure. Most of the states have a board of education, a commissioner or superintendent, and an executive department of education to handle the states' educational responsibilities.

In 1954, all but four states had a board of education to function at the state level in much the same way that a local board functions for the district. As the state's major organ of policy formulation for education, the state board is the body which has come to have the power of decision in such areas as curriculum, teacher qualifications, textbook selection, and the like. The board can be and often is governed by specific actions of the state legislature, as in the legislative enactment of a minimum salary or a loyalty oath for teachers, but ordinarily the range of the board's discretion is vast. In most states membership on the state board of education is through appointment, most frequently by the governor with legislative consent. Certain state officials, the governor, the attorney general, the state treasurer, for example, are often *ex-officio* members of the board.

Most commonly, the state superintendent of schools is elected by popular suffrage at regular partisan elections. In a few states he is appointed by the governor. To avoid the political considerations which will inescapably color an office obtained in these ways, states have increasingly come to provide for the appointment of this official by the state board of education—eighteen states had so provided by 1954.

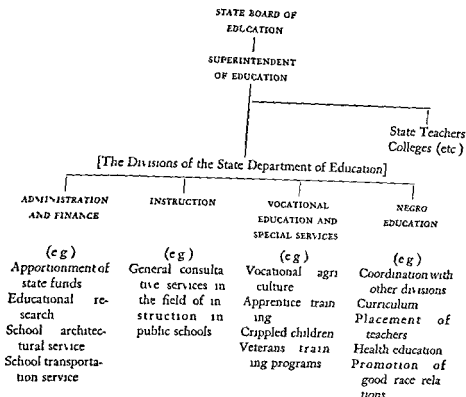
The functions and duties of this official are roughly comparable at the state level to the responsibilities of the local district or city school superintendent. The state superintendent is, first of all, the executive head of the state department of education. He must serve as the professional advisor to the board of education and as the administrator of the policies set by the board. He is, as the earliest title "secretary to the board" suggests, responsible for the collecting of data and maintenance

of records on all manner of details of school operation, data which will bear upon basic decisions as to tax rates, teachers' salaries, state aid to local districts, and so on. Finally, it is on the shoulders of the state superintendent that the ultimate responsibility for the enforcement of educational standards falls.

The third element in the state's administrative organization is the department of education, the bureau or agency which handles the business of operating and supervising a state educational system. As the process of centralization of responsibility accelerated and the scope of state educational activity broadened, more elaborate and comprehensive administrative machinery became essential. From early offices with one or two staff members we have moved to the large and complicated executive branches of state government which today constitute state departments of education. The duties and activities of such departments are implicit in all that has been said here about the responsibility of the state for educational welfare. No aspect of the educational enterprise is beyond the range of the state's concern, and so it is not surprising to find within the state department of education such agencies as a division of schoolhouse planning, an administrator of child care programs, or a bureau of school transportation. Reference to the accompanying charts of departmental organization in New York and Alabama should serve to indicate both the extent of state administrative operations and something of the organizational structure.

While the common pattern of state school administration is three-tiered, most state systems employ in addition certain less formal, sometimes temporary agencies to assist in the conduct of school business. This is particularly the case in areas where lay and professional advice and assistance seem desirable. For example, the California Education Code, or basic school law, provides for the appointment of a Curriculum Commission to deliberate and recommend policy regarding state curricular design, and to oversee the selection of basic textbooks for the courses required by state law. This commission is composed of members from the various levels of teaching and school administration. Another, the Redistricting Commission, is charged with investigating proposals of school district reorganization and making appropriate recommendations to the state board of education. The

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION * IN ALABAMA



State Board of Education Composed of 11 members the Governor and Superintendent of Education serving as ex-officio members Nine members are appointed by the Governor subject to Senate confirmation, one from each congressional district for six year overlapping terms

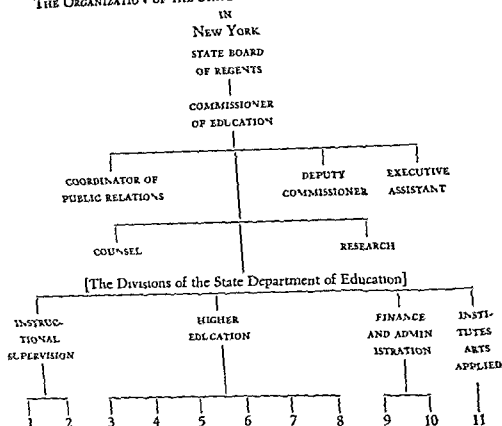
State Board for Vocational Education The State Board of Education is the State Board for Vocational Education

Superintendent of Education Elected by the people for a four year term Serves as Secretary and as Executive Officer of the State Board of Education, which is also the State Board for Vocational Education

Responsibility for State Educational Program Responsibility divided between Superintendent of Education and the State Board of Education

* After Fred F Beach and Andrew H Gibbs *The Structure of State Departments of Education* Bulletin, Miscellaneous No 10, Office of Education, U S Government Printing Office (Washington D C, 1949), p 23 See also Fred F Beach and Robert F Will, *The State and Education the Structure and Control of Public Education at the State Level*, Bulletin, Miscellaneous No 23 (Washington, D C, U S Office of Education, 1955)

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION *



- 1 *Instructional Supervision* (e.g.) Elementary Education, Curriculum, Instructional Supervision, Child Development and Parent Education, Secondary Education, Physical Education, School Buildings and Grounds, Examinations and Testing, Physically Handicapped
- 2 *Vocational Education* (e.g.) Public Service Training, Industrial and Technical Training, Business Education, Agriculture Education, Home Economics, Vocational Rehabilitation.
- 3 *Teacher Education* State Teachers Colleges, Teacher Certification.
- 4 *Higher Education* State Colleges, Charters and Registration.
- 5 *Professional Education* Professional Licensure, Professional Study, Professional Conduct, Professional Examinations
- 6 *State Library* (e.g.) General Reference, Law, Medical, Manuscripts and History
- 7 *State Museum* (e.g.) Exhibits, Archaeology, Botany, Entomology, Geology, History, Zoology
- 8 *Archives and History* Historic Sites and Archives
- 9 *Personnel and Public Relations* (e.g.) Personnel, Motion Pictures, Publication

* After Beach and Gibbs, *op cit*, 57

Accreditation Commission is appointed for the purpose of periodically examining and rating those colleges and universities within the state which are engaged in the preparation of teachers. All such bodies are appointive and the tendency in California, as in many other states, is more and more to make them broadly representative, not only of the teaching profession but also of the general lay public.

Basic Problems in State School Administration

School Finance. It should be clear from the discussion of school finance at the local level that inevitably the state would have to shoulder a larger share of the burden of school support. Throughout the 1950's the sources of revenue for public school support tended to be distributed in roughly these proportions: 3 percent from the Federal government, 40 percent from the states, 5 percent from the counties, and 52 percent from the local districts themselves. The increases in school costs, the growing enrollments, and the shrinkage of taxable wealth at the local level have meant that a trend toward greater state support of education has grown very marked. This tendency is well demonstrated by statistics which regularly appear in the *Biennial Survey of Education* published by the United States Office of Education.

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- 10. *Finance* Apportionment, Field Services, Transportation Accounts
 - 11. *Adult Education* Adult Education, Technical Institutes Institutes of Applied Arts and Sciences

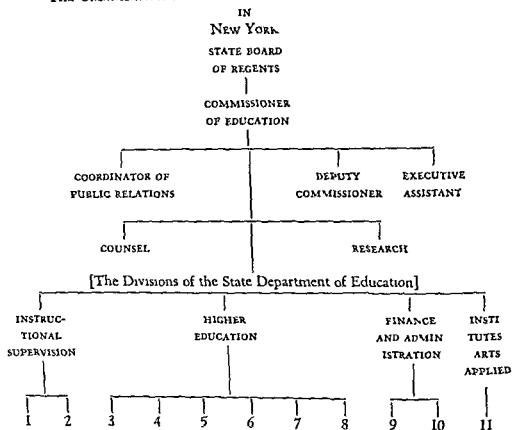
State Board of Regents Composed of 13 lay members serving 13-year terms with one member's term expiring annually. Members are selected by the State legislature acting in joint session. Ten members are selected to represent the 10 State judicial districts and three members are selected at large.

State Board for Vocational Education Membership is identical with that of the State Board of Regents.

Commissioner of Education Appointed by the Board of Regents and serves at their pleasure. Serves as chief executive officer of the State system of education and of the Board of Regents. Charged with the responsibility of enforcing all general and special laws relating to the educational system of the State and the execution of all educational policies determined upon by the Board of Regents. The Commissioner's secretary serves as secretary to the Board of Regents.

Responsibility for State Educational Program Unity of responsibility centered in the State Board of Regents.

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Responsibility for State Educational Program Unity of responsibility centered in the State Board of Regents.

Table 13-1 PROPORTION OF PUBLIC ELEMENTARY- AND SECONDARY SCHOOL SUPPORT BORNE BY THE VARIOUS LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT, 1929 TO 1952

	1929 1930		1939 1940		1951 1952	
	Amount (000 omitted)	Per cent- age	Amount (000 omitted)	Per cent- age	Amount (000 omitted)	Per- cent- age
Total	\$2,000,000	100.0	\$2,200,000	100.0	\$6,423,800	100.0
Federal	7,300	0.4	39,800	1.7	227,700	3.5
State	353,600	16.9	684,300	30.3	2,478,600	38.6
County	216,700	10.4	151,000	6.7	386,800	6.0
Local	1,500,000	72.3	1,385,000	61.3	3,329,600	51.8

Source: *Biennial Survey of Education in the United States 1950 1952* Chapter 2, 'Statistics of State School Systems Organization, Staff, Pupils, and Finances, 1951 52, U S Office of Education (Washington, D C, U S Government Printing Office, 1955), p. 14

These data indicate that the county's position in school support is decreasing in importance while that of the Federal government is growing rather rapidly. Second, these statistics show clearly the rapidly increasing stature of the state's role in school finance and the corollary tapering off of the proportion borne by the local units. Despite the fact that the local school districts continue to pay over one half the costs of public education, it is significant to note that in the last twenty years the local units' share has decreased by nearly one third while the state's share has been more than doubled.

These figures represent the situation over the nation as a whole. Among the states there are wide variations in the extent to which states participate in educational finance. The state of Delaware, in 1947 1948, for example, supplied 89.5 percent of the costs of education while the local districts provided the balance. In New Mexico 88.1 percent of school cost was borne by the state, in North Carolina 78.2 percent of school money came from the state treasury. At the other end of the scale, state funds provided only 11.5 percent of school funds in Kansas and only 2.5 percent in Nebraska.

The distribution of the state moneys has always constituted a serious problem, since the ultimate objective is, after all, the maintenance of a sound educational program for the entire state and the encouragement

of general educational advance. Various methods of apportionment have been tried. Early in the development of state participation in school support, state aid was granted simply on the basis of the number of school age children in the local district. This, the "school census" method, is still in use in a large number of states, but it takes no account of local wealth nor of the factor of school attendance, and hence it is no guarantee that actual local needs are being met. Another scheme, in use in a few states today, bases state payments on the "average daily attendance," or A.D.A., in the schools of the local district. Still other states have devised formulas for computing the "cost of instruction" and have designed ratios of state and local financial responsibility in accordance with these.

Definite trends are discernible in the contemporary development of this increased state obligation to support education. These trends take two forms which are complementary: the equalization of education and the provision of a "foundation program." Geographical accidents produce gross inequities in the availability of taxable wealth among school districts. Increasingly states have assumed that they have a responsibility to the whole state to reduce or minimize, if not to remove, these imbalances among local units. Therefore, states have committed themselves to equalization programs by which state funds, which are collected from the entire state, are applied to those areas where the needs are greatest. The intention of so using state moneys is to attempt to guarantee that none of the children of the state, because of the economic condition of school districts, will be deprived of an adequate education.

Most of the states have taken on the obligation to "equalize" educational opportunity within their borders. To accomplish this, so-called foundation or minimum programs have been established which the states agree to underwrite. By various computational methods, the states determine the total cost of what is conceived to be an essential or minimum educational program. This minimum becomes the base below which the state cannot allow a local district to fall. To the degree that the local unit is unable to finance this minimum, the state is obligated to provide. Theoretically some districts will require extensive state aid while others should need none at all.

As actually operative, the equalization program often does not really 'equalize.' If the state grant is forthcoming simply on the basis of the discrepancy between the foundation figure and the amount raised by local taxation, neither the true extent of local need nor the degree of local effort for self support is taken into account. In this case, state money is handed out on the same basis to rich and poor districts alike. Such a situation was ably summarized in the report of a committee commissioned to survey the school system of the state of California, under the chairmanship of George D. Strayer:

An examination of the facts makes one thing clear. While the State grants school districts much financial aid, it is disbursed in such a manner as to be uneconomical in the use of State funds, since the most able district in the State receives money on exactly the same basis as the district that is least able. Another fact stands out. In some districts it is impossible to maintain an adequate educational program using present State aid plus their local resources. The conclusion is obvious. Since there is sufficient State money available, and the need clearly exists, an adequate educational program can be secured in but one way—through the apportionment of funds in such a manner as to equalize the existing differences among the several school districts.³

To reduce the waste inherent in granting money where it is not really needed and the hazards involved in neglecting to encourage local effort, the equalization principle has been carried somewhat further in some states. The foundation program is accompanied by requirements that local districts tax themselves a specified rate, where the local tax is sufficient, equalization money is not needed, not granted. Where the required tax rate does not supply the foundational amount, the state supplies the balance. By this means local effort is maintained and the more able district is not allowed to relax its efforts in anticipation of unreserved bounties from the state. Nor should it be overlooked that the institution of a foundation program does not restrict an energetic school district from going far beyond the minimum if it so chooses.

³ George D. Strayer and others *The Administration Organization and Financial Support of the Public School System State of California* submitted to the legislature January 22, 1945 (Sacramento, Calif., State Reconstruction and Recmployment Commission 1945), p. 39.

The development of this trend of greater state support raises two fundamental questions. First, if a state has the obligation of attempting to remove educational inequities within its boundaries, does not the *national government* have a similar responsibility for equalizing educational opportunities *among the several states*? Second, in carrying through a program of state support of education, to what extent should the state exert or assert powers of regulation over the local conduct of education? As the adoption of foundation programs has gained in acceptance, this question of the state's regulatory role has assumed ever larger proportions.

Regulation and the Maintenance of Standards. There is no doubt that the move to increase the state's authority and to systematize many aspects of state participation in education was absolutely essential. As a conclusive example, consider the case of one middle western state in which, prior to the establishment of a bona fide state school system in the 1850s, illiteracy progressively increased. State minimum requirements respecting qualifications of teachers, school tax programs, length of school year, and curricula were disregarded on a wholesale scale by the local districts even to the extent that in districts where the population was preponderantly foreign born no schools were conducted in English! In this state, as in others, the growing realization that additional monetary support from the state was essential carried with it a gradual recognition that such aid would inevitably be accompanied by a certain degree of control. As states began to distribute aid, they began also to demand that certain standards be maintained as a condition for receiving such aid. We have already seen that when this assumption of authority was contested by local units, the courts almost invariably upheld the rights of the states.

The question inevitably arises as to just how far the controlling authority of the state should be allowed to go. If the values of local responsibility and a certain degree of local autonomy in school government are important, are there then limits which should be placed upon the power of the state to regulate education or upon the ways in which the state exerts its authority?

Naturally, the state assumed the responsibility of establishing a minimum course of study to be required of every child in the state.

From relatively modest beginnings this matter of setting forth a basic curriculum has assumed extensive, some would say excessive, proportions. Note, for example, the legal provisions in the state of Connecticut for the curricula of public schools.

In said schools shall be taught, by teachers legally qualified, reading, spelling, writing, English grammar, geography, arithmetic, United States, state and local history, duties of citizenship, which shall include a study of the town, state and federal government, hygiene, including the effect of alcohol and narcotics on health and character, physical and health education, including methods, as presented by state board of education, to be employed in preventing and correcting bodily deficiency, instruction in humane treatment and protection of animals and birds and their economic importance, such instruction, when practicable, to be correlated with work in reading, language and nature study, and such other subjects as may be prescribed by the board of education. Courses in health instruction and physical education shall be prepared by secretary of state board of education and, when approved by state board, shall constitute the prescribed courses.

The Education Code, or basic state school law, for the state of California provides as follows

Sec 10302 The course of study in the elementary school shall include instruction in the following prescribed branches in the several grades in which each is required pursuant to this article (a) reading, (b) writing, (c) spelling, (d) language study, (e) arithmetic, (f) geography, (g) history of the United States, (h) music, (i) art, (j) training for healthful living, (k) morals and manners, and such other studies not to exceed three as may be prescribed by the board of education of the city, county, or city and county

Here the state has prescribed eleven specific subjects and has left to the discretion of local authority the selection of three more. The issue is whether or not (without debating the wisdom of requiring those courses which are specified) the state has prescribed too much and has, by so doing, left too little jurisdiction to the local unit. Many feel that a procedure of this kind is likely to stifle local interest, to discourage the inventiveness or imagination of local faculties, to dampen initiative at the local level.

Similar problems have arisen in the equally important areas of text book selection and teacher qualification. In the case of textbooks the practice of state wide adoption or selection prevails in nearly half the states. Many believe that when a state determines the school curriculum, it is right and necessary that the state shall also select the textbooks to be used with that curriculum. In these states some division of the department of education or a special commission is set up to review textbooks and to recommend to the state superintendent or the state board of education their adoption or rejection. Ordinarily state law requires that the books so adopted be distributed or made available to all children in the public schools, either through individual issuance as in the case of basic texts or through library or classroom provision in the case of supplementary materials. Such a procedure is defended on the grounds that it is more economical and efficient, that students who move from one district to another are spared the dislocations attendant upon the use of different books, and that better textbooks are obtained when skilled professional committees make the selections.

As with the prescribed curriculum, however, there are risks involved in the practice of state wide textbook adoption. Local initiative is reduced and the variations in community needs and interests are likely to be overlooked. Courses tend to be patterned more or less closely after the adopted textbook rather than reflecting the individuality of a school system or a teacher. All too frequently, those charged with selection are far removed from both local school problems and from the everyday requirements of classroom work. This is another area in which the authority of the state can and often does operate to the detriment of local grass roots educational enterprise.

A not dissimilar situation is evident in the state's prescription of the requirements for teaching credentials. The practice is for the state to institute minimum requirements involving specified collegiate courses, units, and/or degrees.⁴ It is altogether clear that the state must aggressively maintain standards for its teaching personnel, to do otherwise would jeopardize all other educational standards the state might attempt to establish. Tendencies have begun to appear, however, which seem to exaggerate the state's role in controlling teaching

⁴ Illustrative examples of such certification requirements are reproduced in Chap. 17.

personnel at the expense of the local district and, in this case, of the individual teacher education institutions. When the state sets more and more elaborate minima to be met by prospective teachers, less and less discretion in the selection of teachers remains to be exercised by the local district which employs them. In this situation it becomes ever more difficult for the local district to hire teachers in accordance with requirements set by *local* conditions or attitudes. The result often is that the state's minimum requirements become in effect a maximum standardized for the entire state. Identically, the college or university offering a program of teacher education also begins to lose its local autonomy. The staff of such an institution may have its own ideas as to what constitutes a sound teacher education program, but the expression of such independence becomes less likely as credential requirements are increased by the state. The state prescribed pattern tends to become the *only* pattern.

In these three instances, as in many others that might be mentioned, the common identity of the problem is clear. Two great needs must be reconciled. On the one hand there is the need to ensure educational adequacy to all children, to provide at least a minimum degree of equality of educational opportunity for all children. On the other hand there is the need to serve the peculiar and unique demands of countless local areas, to provide them with the freedom to meet those demands in consonance with local conditions, to protect their right to self-expression. Corollary to these needs are two great fears which state and local educational authorities must strive vigorously and co-operatively to eliminate. There is the fear, whose validity history documents, that local units if left to themselves will relax, will neglect to maintain adequate standards, and will fail to fulfill the obligations of education for democracy. There is the contrasting fear that the exercise of state authority can all too easily lead to the imposition of standardization, of a deadening uniformity of education, from which experimentation and creative expression will be absent. The most serious problem in state school administration is the problem of effecting the reconciliation which will eliminate these fears.

Questions for Study and Discussion

This chapter has attempted to sketch the place of the state governmental authority in the conduct of American public education. It is clear from our history that some degree of state responsibility for schools is essential if those schools are to operate most efficiently. The establishment and maintenance of educational standards by the state is our main means of promoting equality of educational opportunity and of guaranteeing the element of unity which the common schools are intended to provide. Year by year the state is assuming a larger share of the burden of school finance. Before the law, this responsibility of the state must take precedence over the particular concerns or deviations of local school districts. We noted the fact that all power resting in local hands was *delegated* by the state, that the state has made the local school boards its agents in administering the schools. The crucial problem, then, is one of balance and proportion. It is mandatory upon the state not to abuse this power in such ways that local imagination and initiative are stifled. In working to improve its schools the state must guard against the tendency to govern by decree or edict. It must choose the more difficult and more tedious avenue of encouragement, advice, and example. Patterns of certification, curricula, or school building design, when handed down from the state authority, tend to become the only patterns, to stand as maximum programs. Unquestionably, in some areas, the state must do just this. Nevertheless, the state school authorities, and the legislature, must act scrupulously to avoid undermining the essential health of local school districts to refrain from measures which have the effect if not the intent of regimentation. No small part of the success which American education can justly claim is the result of the vigorous assumption by the states of their educational responsibilities and of their regard for the integrity of the local school districts.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

BASIC QUESTION Just how far does the control of the state government over education extend? Specifically, of what (in most states) do the powers of the state consist? What can the state do in the realm of education?

- 1 Why, after a colonial period characterized by minimal state and extensive local control, was it deemed necessary for the state to move in the

- direction of closer, more extensive, and more stringent regulation of schools?
- 2 On what grounds was the expansion of state authority in education resisted by those who believed in complete local independence? Have their fears in any sense been justified?
 - 3 Under what circumstances would you support a state administration in a policy of removing from local hands some aspect of authority for school operation?
 - 4 How would you describe the more or less common features of the state school administrative machinery? What are some of the important exceptions to these generalizations?
 - 5 What are some of the modifications in this machinery which modern conditions seem to require?
 - 6 In the context of state school administration, what is the role of the county? Is it a 'fifth wheel,' an unnecessary and inefficient unit in the total system, or does it perform valuable and useful functions?
 - 7 Secure your state's report to the White House Conference on Education (December 1955) What does the report cite as the chief educational problems in your state? What specific recommendations were urged for national consideration?

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Education and the Republic: The Federal Government and Education

THE ROLE OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT in the operation of American education is surely one of the three or four most critical educational questions of our time. The details of various contemporary proposals of federal participation in education and the controversies revolving around such proposals will be examined in later chapters. That analysis, however, requires some understanding of the general history of the Federal government's relations to education and of the present status and organization of current federal educational activities. This chapter attempts to present such a historical and descriptive survey.

Federal Support of Education in the States

In view of the current concern over proposals of federal aid to education, it is interesting to note that the earliest instances of federal participation in education were grants of aid to the states. While the United States Constitution contains no specific mention of education, the acts and statements of early republican leaders clearly indicate that education was from the beginning conceived by many as a national responsibility. The foremost example of this concern, of course, is found in the two famous Land Ordinances of 1785 and 1787. The

familiar credo contained in the Ordinance of 1787—Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged—epitomizes this conviction By reserving to education the sixteenth section in every township carved out of the public domain, these ordinances gave lasting effect to this commitment. Thus, even before the adoption of the Constitution the Federal government had declared a policy of supporting and promoting education

Nor were early American political leaders silent on this question Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Franklin all vigorously asserted the inevitable reliance of democratic government upon general enlightenment and the essential educational obligations of a national government James Madison wrote A popular Government without popular information, or the means of acquiring it is but a Prologue to a Farce or a Tragedy, or, perhaps both Knowledge will forever govern ignorance And a people who mean to be their own Governors, must arm themselves with the power which knowledge gives

Steadily the area of federal involvement in the support of education in the states expanded A major step was taken at the time of the admission to the Union of the state of Ohio in 1802 By the procedure known as the enabling act Congress granted authority to the territories to submit for congressional approval state constitutions *before* final admission to the Union With the enabling act for Ohio definite educational provisions were required of each new state constitution these provisions constituted agreements by the prospective states to the conditions and limitations of the various federal grants including those for the support of education States by assenting to these conditions were agreeing to and reinforcing the policy of federal support for education

In 1848 as Oregon received territorial status the grant for education instituted by the Ordinance of 1785 was doubled and with the admission of Utah in 1894 four sections per township were awarded By the famous Morrill or Land Grant College Act of 1862 the states received 30 000 acres of public land per congressman a grant roughly based on population for the endowment of colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts By this and related additional grants some 12

million acres of federal land have been made available to the states for the support of higher education and many of America's most important colleges and universities were established or extensively expanded as a result. In 1887 these colleges were further aided by federal grants of money for "researches or experiments bearing directly upon the agricultural industry of the United States." This, the Hatch Act, resulted in the establishment of the various agricultural experiment stations throughout the country.

The Hatch Act is significant as the first federal legislation granting *money* directly from the federal treasury in support of education. It was followed in 1914 by the Smith Lever Act which spread the benefits of preceding acts by establishing the agricultural extension service, its purpose being "the diffusion among the people of useful and practical information on subjects relating to agriculture and home economics, and to encourage the application of the same" for the general population. An important feature of this act was the requirement that the state match the moneys received from the Federal government. The institution of this "matching principle" has been highly influential in subsequent considerations of federal aid to education.

Up to this time no monetary aid had been forthcoming from the Federal government directly to schools below college grade. A series of laws which began with the Smith Hughes Act of 1917 (including the George Reed Act of 1929, the George Deen Act of 1936, and the George Barden Act of 1946) has provided extensively for federal support of vocational education at the secondary school level. Federal grants, again following the matching formula, have been provided to help pay the costs of instruction in agriculture, home economics, trades and industry, and the distributive occupations, plus the costs of training teachers in these fields. Since the inception of this program, the Federal government has spent approximately \$370 million, and in any one year the total appropriation generally equals some \$27 million.¹

There are several other important federal programs which have directly supported educational activities within the states. The school lunch program deserves special mention 'because of its magnitude,

¹ See the *Biennial Surveys of Education in the United States* U. S. Office of Education (Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office).

significance, and the fact that it is the only program of its type by the Federal government."² A number of emergency arrangements for school lunch provision were coordinated and regularized by the National School Lunch Act of 1946, designed "to safeguard the health and well being of the Nation's children and to encourage the domestic consumption of nutritious agricultural commodities and other foods. . . ." Federal money is provided to assist states in purchasing foods and to finance the distribution of federally purchased surplus agricultural products. In addition to the nutritional and health significance of this activity, it is important to note, as Allen emphasized, that this "program gives the first federal money grants ever to be available generally to elementary schools of the country," that it "serves both public and nonpublic schools," and that "the program, although dealing with the elementary schools, is administered by a 'non-educational' government agency."³ That the school lunch program is looming larger is clearly demonstrated by the fact that federal appropriations for its operation had risen from approximately \$126 million in 1940 to nearly \$100 million in 1952, which despite the rise in the cost of living represents more than a threefold increase.

No review of federal activities which support local educational enterprise would be complete without attention to the contract research program. During World War II the various departments of the Federal government came to count heavily upon the personnel and resources of colleges and universities for various types of research. The relationship was continued after the war and Allen reported that in 1949, for example, over \$160 million in federal funds was spent for this type of activity.⁴ As might be anticipated, the research thus subsidized has been almost entirely of a scientific and technical nature, but the program has been significant for higher education generally. Federal support here has not only stimulated certain researches, but also it has permitted institutions to retain or expand staff and facilities and to serve the technical needs of the nation more effectively. There

² Hollis P. Allen, *The Federal Government and Education* (New York, McGraw Hill, 1950), p. 115.

³ Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

appears to be no evidence that this introduction of federal interest into higher education has brought federal interference with or dictation to colleges and universities. Many college teachers and administrators feel that such large scale support of work in a relatively few areas tends to put the Federal government in the position of subtly, though unintentionally, promoting a dangerous imbalance in curricular emphasis.

Education within the states has also received support from the Federal government less directly. In 1802 Ohio was granted 5 percent of the proceeds of sales of federal lands within the state for "internal improvements." Usually meant to include such matters as construction of turnpikes and dredging of canals, "internal improvements" soon came to refer to education as well. Various general grants for internal improvements from several sources came wholly or partially to be used for educational purposes. Similarly, federal grants to states for educational support have been made from the incomes of federal forest reserves and federal mineral lands. While in the aggregate these sums have not been large, they have constituted significant contributions to school support in many states.

Without much doubt, the most significant recent instance of federal assistance to local educational endeavor was the White House Conference on Education, conducted under the auspices of the Eisenhower administration in November 1955. This four-day conclave was the culminating meeting in a series of local and state gatherings mobilized, by governmental and lay energies, to consider pressing educational problems. Federal money helped carry the costs of the state conferences and the expenses of the convention in Washington, D. C. However, the essential significance of the federal action does not lie in the relatively tiny sum thus involved, but rather in what this national educational conference symbolized. President Eisenhower summed this up succinctly in his message to Congress on "Our Educational System," just two months following the conference.

Two years ago the Congress approved my recommendation of a program to direct nationwide attention and action to our educational problems and opportunities. As a consequence, more than 4,000 State and local conferences were held throughout 1955. The White House Con-

ference on Education, the first such conference in our history, was held last November. The work of the conferences has aroused the Nation. The final report of the White House Conference Committee should receive wide and serious attention.

Benefits already are apparent. About half a million people across the Nation, representing all segments of life, came to grips with the problems of education. The status of American education—where it is, the future of American education—where it should and can go—have been illuminated as perhaps never before. Most important of all, there has been a reawakening of broad public interest in our schools. The conferences helped to erase the corroding notion that schools were the other person's responsibility.

In our society no firmer foundation for action can be laid than common understanding of a problem, *no more potent force can be devised for assailing a problem than the common will to do the job.* For the improvement of our educational system, the people themselves have laid the foundation in understanding and willingness.

The President's suggestion for such a conference was greeted with considerable skepticism in many quarters and the results of the conference itself were interpreted by some as demonstrating either (1) *insincerity on the part of the sponsors* or (2) *an unwarranted use of federal influence in an essentially local sphere.* Indeed, the most vital specific recommendation of the conference—that for immediate federal assistance in financing the construction of school buildings (see Chapter 25)—was rejected by the subsequent Congress. Nevertheless, this new form of federal support for education was an historic occasion for at least these reasons: it focused lay public attention on educational problems to an unprecedented degree and promoted joint citizen professional consideration of these questions as never before, it dramatized the inescapable *national* interest in such areas as the curriculum, the shortage and qualifications of teachers, the adequacy of school plant and equipment, and the status of the teaching profession, it produced recommendations for policy and action in a number of areas, not least in the area of federal aid to education where, without doubt, the governmental position was significantly influenced by such recommendations. And many would add that the mere mechanics of organizing a gathering of some two thousand delegates from all

parts of the country in such a way as genuinely to respect and reflect divergent points of view constituted a milestone in the development of improved media of participating and communicating in the complex process of making decisions in a modern democratic state.

Direct Federal Educational Responsibilities

The Allen study previously cited was prepared for the Hoover Commission on the Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, a body authorized by Congress to make recommendations for the more efficient ordering of the executive departments of the Federal government. In his report to the Commission Allen listed and described some two hundred federal educational programs operative in the executive departments and implied that there may be more. These programs are of varying degrees of influence and importance, some are central to the major processes of citizenship, others are subordinate or peripheral. This survey can touch only briefly upon a few of the more important educational activities actually conducted by the Federal government.

National Defense. Since 1802 the Federal government has operated a program for the education and training of army officers and since 1845 a similar program for naval officer personnel. These programs involve, first of all, the famous academies at West Point and Annapolis, which offer education of collegiate grade for officer candidates. But this activity of the Department of Defense goes far beyond these two institutions. A listing of some of the additional programs will serve to show the extent of this phase of federal education operations: the Air War College, the Air Command and Staff School, the School of Aviation Medicine, the Reserve Officers' Training Corps, the United States Armed Forces Institute, the Marine Corps Institute, and the United States Naval Postgraduate School. These and many more extend the range of the government's military educational responsibilities from the elementary grades through the most advanced levels of collegiate postgraduate work. They involve independently operated government schools, like the academies, and cooperative arrangements with state and private schools as in the case of the ROTC programs.

or the correspondence courses available to military personnel through the United States Armed Forces Institute

Government Dependents. Another general type of federal educational activity is found in the operation and maintenance of schools for various nonmilitary government dependents. Schools must be maintained for the children of federal employees in areas where regular schools are not available. The Panama Canal Zone and, more recently, the colonies of Americans administering the occupation of conquered nations or the restricted establishments of the Atomic Energy Commission are instances of this type. The territories and the Indian reservations also require federal provisions for education. In 1947, 238 federal Indian schools were in operation serving 30,254 pupils, while contracts with some 1,140 regular school districts provided educational arrangements for 13,759 more. Still other Indian students were sent to mission or boarding schools.⁵ In this category belongs the Federal government's responsibility for education in the city of Washington, D. C. This last differs from the others in that its administration is a function of the Congress rather than of one of the executive departments. Under the congressional committee charged with the general government of the national capital, a relatively orthodox school administrative system has been established. Finally, certain other institutions which might be listed as wards of the national government have received federal aid, though these are not under government control. Among these are Howard University in Washington, D. C., a university for Negroes, the Columbia Institution for the Deaf, also in Washington, and the American Printing House for the Blind, Louisville, Kentucky.

Veterans' Education. Although not educational programs in the sense in which we have been speaking so far, the provisions for the education of veterans which resulted from World War II cannot be omitted from any survey of federal educational activities. With Public Laws 346 and 16, the "G. I. Bill of Rights" and the vocational rehabilitation program for disabled veterans, the national government entered into a program of educational support unprecedented in the history of any nation. On the theory that war service had interrupted the educa-

⁵ See Allen *op cit* p. 36

tional or training plans of many, the government through Public Law 346 undertook to facilitate the resumption of education for honorably discharged veterans with legitimate educational objectives. For those whose previously held occupational skills were destroyed by service incurred wounds or disabilities, Public Law 16 guaranteed retraining or re-education to the extent necessary to develop a new vocational or professional outlet. Both programs consisted of subsistence grants to individual veterans for the period of schooling and tuition-expense grants to the institutions selected by the veteran student. Under Public Law 346, which by 1952 had assisted over 10 million men and women to further their education, the selection of educational aims and institutions was left wholly with the individual veteran. Serving almost one million disabled veterans up to 1952, Public Law 16 involved the approval by representatives of the Veterans' Administration of all aspects of an individual's program. The extent of these programs can be measured by the more than \$2.8 billion spent in the peak year of 1948 for subsistence and tuition. From the standpoint of educational significance these programs of veterans' education must be ranked with the Land Ordinances of the 1780s and the Morrill Act. They set a pattern which bids fair to become a permanent feature of the American educational enterprise, as the enactment of similar benefits for veterans of the Korean war and the expanding national scholarship programs, both governmental and private, clearly demonstrate.

Relief and Welfare. Because of the aggravated economic problems of youth during the years of the depression, the Federal government embarked upon certain educational programs of an unprecedented nature and scale. The two most important of these emergency activities were the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) and the National Youth Administration (NYA). The CCC was established in 1933 as a means of affording youth opportunities for socially useful work and continuation of education. Work projects of various kinds (soil and forest conservation, highway construction, and the like) were instituted and residence camps established for young men from seventeen to twenty-four years of age. In conjunction with camp life an educational program rapidly developed. During the CCC's nearly ten years of operation well over three million men were enrolled, and

of these, at least 90 percent took advantage of some form of educational or training opportunity. Allen reports that

Seventy-two percent participated in job training activities, 45 percent in vocational classes, 36 percent in academic classes, and 14 percent in informal educational activities. In this period 101,215 illiterates were taught to read and write, 25,225 qualified for eighth grade diplomas, 5,007 for high school diplomas, and 270 for college degrees. Between 1933 and 1941 nearly three billion dollars was expended on the C.C.C. The highest yearly expenditure was \$594,466,402 in 1936.⁶

The N.Y.A., which was in operation from 1935 to 1944, was designed to perform two functions: to afford unemployed youth opportunities for vocational training and to provide part-time employment for needy students to permit them to stay in school. As with the C.C.C., this program was clearly a combination of relief and education. The out-of-school work program developed into a system of work for pay and related vocational education, while the funds granted to schools and colleges to employ needy students were used to provide student instructional and clerical help, library service, custodial assistance, and so on. Neither so costly nor so far-reaching as the C.C.C., the N.Y.A. was, nevertheless, a striking example of the form federal activity in education could take to meet a particular need.

In a later chapter, we will be concerned with various proposals of federal action to alleviate or remove educational inequalities. At that point, some consideration will be given to the appropriateness of federal operations of the type just described. Much concern has been expressed at the degree to which these programs (1) duplicated existing state and local activities, (2) by-passed or ignored state and local educational authority, and (3) all too frequently confused education with relief. While there have been few criticisms of the desirability of public programs of this kind in times of economic depression, there has been much criticism of certain organizational and administrative aspects of these and similar activities as they relate to the total educational enterprise.

Training of Government Personnel A considerable segment of

⁶ By permission from *The Federal Government and Education* by Hollis P. Allen
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federal educational effort is devoted to the training or technical preparation necessary for various sorts of government service. Let the following listing of certain typical training programs illustrate the scope and extent of this area of government operation

Department of Agriculture

Graduate school providing formal liberal arts courses and technical studies

Department of Commerce

In-service training of Weather Bureau personnel.

National Bureau of Standards Graduate School

Civil Aeronautics Authority in-service training of airways personnel

Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

Public Health Service, Mental Hygiene Division to demonstrate educational techniques to institutions offering work in psychiatry, clinical psychology, etc.

Department of the Interior

National Park Service in-service training in fire protection and control

Bureau of Mines, Coal Mine Inspection Branch training program for the prevention of mining accidents

Department of Justice

Federal Bureau of Investigation, National Police Academy instruction in law enforcement techniques

United States Maritime Commission

Bureau of Training training programs for officers and seamen for duty with the merchant marine.

Department of State

Foreign Service Institute special training for foreign service officers in economics, language, and area studies

Educational Exchange. A great many would insist that the most important, and for the entire nation potentially the most rewarding, federal educational undertaking is in the area of educational exchange. While the idea—and the practice—of interchange of teachers and scholars between countries is hardly new, it is undeniable that the years since World War II have seen a vast expansion in such activity

Carlos P. Romulo, as Philippine ambassador to the United States, recently recalled the occasion, in 1901, when some six hundred American teachers arrived to work among his people. It would be impossible, he said, to overestimate the importance to contemporary Philippine national life of the influence of those teachers who, 'scattering through the provinces into the little barrios [villages] and throughout the towns and cities, laid the foundations and sowed the seeds of democracy."

It is in this spirit that the postwar period has witnessed a remarkable growth in educational exchange. With the enactment of the Fulbright and Smith Mundt programs, for example, public funds have been utilized to bring foreign students to American colleges and universities and to provide similar benefits for Americans abroad. Through the good offices of the Department of State, arrangements have been made whereby a third grade teacher in Joliet, Illinois, can trade classrooms for a year (and sometimes longer) with her opposite number in Copenhagen. Or, again, as a major part of the technical assistance program, commonly known as Point Four, American professors have been sent overseas at the request of foreign governments. Some five hundred such American experts were abroad under special contracts in 1956, working in such fields as the initiation of elementary school agricultural education programs in Iran and the establishment and organization of a teachers' college in Nepal, as well as in such general fields as engineering, hydroelectric development, and medicine. These suggest but by no means exhaust the scope of federal efforts in this category. Probably no public investment has ever returned such rich dividends.

Federal Educational Agencies

There have been no federal agencies in American history with genuine responsibility for the broad gauge over all operation of American education. This is no doubt partially attributable to the omission of education from the Constitution. With the great number and variety of educational activities which have been and are being undertaken by the Federal government, it is noteworthy that almost no considera-

tion or provision has been given to the coordination of these activities. The federal educational program continues to operate on what has very aptly been termed a "piecemeal" basis. The history and status of the two chief instances of federal educational organization bear out this contention.

The first of these two agencies, the Freedmen's Bureau, while not strictly speaking an educational agency, was the first federal office to be actively concerned with the conduct of education at the local level. Established in 1865 to care for the newly freed slaves in conquered Confederate territory, the Freedmen's Bureau was given the responsibility for providing the Negroes with food, clothing, employment, and, to a limited degree, education. While it is clear that the bureau left the actual operation of schools for the Negroes to charitable and religious organizations, it is also true that the bureau considered itself responsible for their maintenance. During its five to six years of operation the Freedmen's Bureau spent some \$5,360,000 on educational activities. Although this sum represents less than one half of what was spent on Negro education during those years, it is significant that to a varying though somewhat uncertain degree, federal responsibility for schools in *local communities* was being exercised. It is perhaps fair to say that no similar activity appeared again until the institution of the C.C.C. program in 1933, but while the Freedmen's Bureau relied largely on local and private efforts to support schools, the C.C.C. organized what amounted to a federal system of schools. Both, however, were emergency measures and served small segments of the population.

Far more important was the establishment in 1867 of a federal Department of Education, the original precursor of the present United States Office of Education. The act which authorized the original agency set forth its purpose in these words: "That there shall be established a department of education for the purpose of collecting such statistics and facts as shall show the condition and progress of education in the several states and territories, and of diffusing such information [relative to school administration, methodology, finance, and the like] as shall aid the people of the United States in the establishment and maintenance of efficient school systems, and other-

wise promote the cause of education throughout the country" Collection and dissemination of data and the encouragement of education have continued to be the primary functions of the federal agency from its inception.

From the outset, this office has been the object of considerable lack of sympathy, indeed hostility. Throughout its rather checkered career—independent "department" for one year, "office" in the Department of Interior from 1868 to 1870, "bureau" in the same department until 1929, "office" of that department until 1939, and "Office of Education" in the Federal Security Agency from 1939 to 1953, and now part of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare—this agency has seemed to many to stand as a major threat to genuine state and local educational independence. Many have felt that the gradually expanding responsibilities of this office over the years, and the extent of its influence, tend to place the Federal government in a too powerful position relative to local educational activity. Others are equally convinced that twentieth-century conditions require a more aggressive and more vital federal educational policy and that this, in turn, demands a more effective and more adequately supported federal educational office.

The prevalence of the latter view is indicated by the creation of the new department, headed by a secretary of cabinet rank. He is assisted by an undersecretary for education and the Office of Education is administered by a commissioner. All these officials are appointed by the President subject to senatorial approval. Many find in this development a decided improvement in the status accorded to education in the national government, though others have long held that the field of education merited a department in its own right and question the advisability of bracketing education with operations of lesser consequence. Still others, however, view the latest change in the position of the Office of Education with some misgiving, believing on the contrary that present arrangements place education too close to partisan political considerations and reduce the imperative element of independence.

Under the original authorization to conduct researches, to lead and to serve the nation's schools, the Office of Education administers such

activities as the Smith Hughes vocational education program and certain aspects of the land grant college program, it has administered some phases of the provisions for education in Alaska, the CCC program, and the N.Y.A. grants. Its chief activities, however, have developed in the area of diffusion of data. Magazines, bulletins, circulars, and monographs are produced in profusion on a multitude of educational subjects. Regular statistical surveys are compiled in such areas as school enrollments, school finance, and teachers' salaries. Extensive materials relative to the teaching of specific subjects are prepared. Digests of salient developments in school law and discussions of problems in school administration are published. Not the least of the services performed by the Office of Education is its regular and up-to-date coverage of the conduct of education in other countries.

The Federal Courts and Education

Thus far in this chapter we have considered the parts played by the legislative and executive branches of the Federal government in the general conduct of education. It remains to be noted how the federal judicial branch is also involved in the educational enterprise. For, despite the Constitution's silence on education, there have arisen a number of highly important questions either directly involving or closely related to education that have required adjudication by the federal courts. Many of the most significant of these questions have been carried all the way to the Supreme Court.

Obviously, such questions as these which require interpretations of constitutional provisions are not exclusively educational in nature, and their legal resolution will usually have significant implications far beyond the schoolroom. Such matters as freedom of speech, freedom of religion, and the inviolability of contracts which may have their origins in educational situations are of moment for the general life of the American community as well as for the conduct of education. An increasing number of such questions seem to have arisen in recent years, calling for a more extensive involvement of the federal courts in the conduct of local education. Justice Jackson, in expressing himself on one such case, stated that we should place some bounds on the

demands for interference with local schools that we are empowered or willing to entertain." The Supreme Court, he felt, is in danger of assuming "the role of a super board of education for every school district in the nation." The federal judiciary is involved, and markedly, in educational operations and represents, therefore, a most important aspect of the total relationship of the Federal government to American education.

We cannot here examine in any detail all the cases concerning education which have come before the federal courts. A few will be considered in later sections of this book, particularly those dealing with questions of racial segregation in schools, religious education, and public support of parochial schools. To illustrate the nature of the operation of the courts and the scope of the influence of their decisions, brief consideration of two cases at this point seems appropriate.

The Dartmouth College Case. Mention has been made of the rather strong feeling held by some persons in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that the Federal government should establish a national university. A similar sentiment was apparent on the level of state government as well, and there was considerable feeling that most, if not all, education in a democratic republic should be public in support and control. Clarification on the matter of private versus public control of higher education in particular was urgently needed. *Dartmouth College*, at which this question finally came to a head, had received a royal charter during the colonial period. This meant that as an institution the college antedated the state of New Hampshire. Nevertheless, in 1816 New Hampshire took action to convert *Dartmouth College* into a state university contending that: (1) since all education, including higher education, is a public concern, all education should be directly responsible to public opinion; and (2) that to leave schools and colleges in private hands was to encourage education of a narrowly dogmatic, sectarian, or partisan character. The trustees of *Dartmouth College* resisted the action of the state government and retained as their legal representative Daniel Webster who carried the case to the United States Supreme Court. The college authorities opposed the state on the grounds that: (1) if the college were converted into a public institution, its administration would become the victim

of the state's political controversies; (2) if this college were appropriated by the state, those who in the future might give money for private schools or colleges would be discouraged since the private character of their gifts could not be assured; (3) colleges whose existence and operation were dependent upon popular sentiment would be unable to provide genuine academic independence to their faculties; and (4) the action of the state of New Hampshire constituted a contract violation

The decision of the Supreme Court, handed down by Chief Justice John Marshall in 1819, upheld the authorities of the college and declared the action of the state government unconstitutional. Marshall cited Article I, Section 10, of the Constitution which forbids a state to pass any law "impairing the obligation of contracts," holding that the state of New Hampshire had recognized the Dartmouth charter and similar agreements when it joined the Union. The state was prohibited from forcibly taking over the private institution, and a principle of immense significance for American life generally was thus enunciated. Apparently the Dartmouth decision has ever since been instrumental in protecting, not just schools, but all private institutions from summary government seizure or reorganization. Certainly this decision had lasting influence upon the development of American education. In the first place, states were restrained from appropriating private institutions and in a few instances were moved to establish separate state colleges or universities as a result. Most such public efforts prior to the Civil War were, however, blocked or severely impeded by sectarian frictions and religious controversies. Second, and of more extensive immediate effect, this decision encouraged the private college interests to redoubled efforts. The period between 1819 and 1860 witnessed the founding of some five hundred private colleges, primarily denominational, secure in the court's assurance of the inviolability of their contracts. In view of the role played by such institutions in the course of American history, it would be difficult to overemphasize the educational significance of this early action of the federal judiciary.

The Oregon Case. A similar and equally far reaching principle was laid down by the United States Supreme Court a century later as the result of an action taken by the state of Oregon. In 1922 that state

passed a Compulsory Education Act which, with certain minor exceptions, required that all children between eight and sixteen years of age be sent to *public schools*. County school officials were authorized to judge the adequacy of private school instruction and, if not satisfied, to order the substitution of public instruction. The law was defended on the grounds that (1) it represented a bona fide state function, the state's over all responsibility for the education of its children required that it enforce high educational standards, (2) no private rights—of contract, property, or religious liberty—were infringed since legal processes were retained and respected, (3) here no interference with the principle of separation of church and state was evident, since religious education *outside* the required public instruction was still permissible, and (4) in any event, this was a matter not within the province of federal jurisdiction, the details of educational control belonged exclusively to the states.

Strenuous objection to this legislation was immediately forthcoming and appeals to the courts were initiated by a Roman Catholic sisterhood engaged in parochial education together with a private military academy. These interests challenged the Oregon action, contending that (1) the state's educational authority does not include the power to destroy legitimate private schools, that on the contrary as legitimate educational institutions they are entitled to the state's protection (2) the state's action *does* impair the recognized obligations of contracts (here the Dartmouth College case was cited in support), (3) this law violated the religious liberty of individual citizens by refusing them the right to elect an education with a denominational orientation, (4) *this action usurps* the right of parents to make decisions regarding the raising of their children, and (5) a state's power to interfere with individual freedom is valid only as such interference advances the public welfare, a claim which the state in this instance could not defend.

The decision in this case was declared in 1925. In general, the court upheld the contentions of the plaintiffs, stating that the action of the state of Oregon was unconstitutional. The following selections from the court's statement are significant as illustrating not only the logic of the decision and the integral relationship that obtains between

federal law and education, but also may serve to demonstrate that the language of the law need not be regarded as altogether mysterious or unintelligible to the layman. For, regardless of one's sentiments on the particular principle at issue in this case, here are lucidity and keenness of prose worthy of note.

It is not seriously debatable that the parental right to guide one's child intellectually and religiously is a most substantial part of the liberty and freedom of the parent.

The statute in suit trespasses, not only upon the liberty of the parents individually, but upon their liberty collectively as well. It forbids them, as a body, to support private and parochial schools and thus give to their children such education and religious training as the parents may see fit, subject to the valid regulations of the State. In that respect the enactment violates the public policy of the State of Oregon and the liberty which parents have heretofore enjoyed in that State.

The legislative power of a State in relation to education does not involve the power to prohibit or suppress private schools and colleges. The familiar statement that education is a public function means no more than that it is a function that the State may undertake, because it vitally interests and concerns the State that children shall be furnished the means of education and not left to grow up in ignorance. But the power of the State to provide public schools carries with it no power to prohibit and suppress private schools and colleges which are competent and qualified to afford what the State wants, namely education. . .

No question is raised concerning the power of the State reasonably to regulate all schools, to inspect, supervise and examine them, their teachers and pupils, to require that all children of proper age attend some school, that teachers shall be of good moral character and patriotic disposition, that certain studies plainly essential to good citizenship must be taught, and that nothing be taught which is manifestly inimical to the public welfare.

The inevitable practical result of enforcing the Act under consideration would be destruction of appellees' primary schools, and perhaps all other private primary schools for normal children within the State of Oregon. . . .

we think it entirely plain that the Act of 1922 unreasonably interferes with the liberty of parents and guardians to direct the upbringing and education of children under their control. . . . The funda

mental theory of liberty under which all governments in this Union repose excludes any general power of the State to standardize its children by forcing them to accept instruction from public teachers only. The child is not the mere creature of the State; those who nurture him and direct his destiny have the right, coupled with the high duty, to recognize and prepare him for additional obligations.⁷

Obviously, here is a case of the greatest moment for education, hence an example of the very significant degree to which the Federal government is involved in the conduct of education. Here, as in the *Dartmouth College* case, is a judicial decision which has far reaching implications for American life generally. Not only did the Supreme Court in the *Oregon* case protect private education, but also it is equally clear that the principle of the sacredness of contracts was hereby reaffirmed and the whole of private enterprise thus protected. At the same time, the court clarified and sanctioned the right of the state to supervise and regulate all education, private as well as public, while denying to the state the power to destroy nonpublic education. Finally, this decision clearly supports and promotes the "prior rights" of parents in the raising of their children, a principle long a part of the American tradition and central to many Judaeo Christian religious faiths. Again, the significance and the implications of such a decision are profound and pervade the furthest reaches of American culture.

* * *

We have attempted in this chapter to deal briefly with the history and the scope of federal involvement in the American educational process. We have seen how all three branches of government have definite functions and responsibilities in the conduct of education. This chapter should be thought of as simply descriptive; we have not tried to deal with the several critical and complex questions which have arisen regarding the proper role of the Federal government in educational affairs. To cite the Educational Policies Commission, the overall problem is not: Shall we have federal support of education? Rather, the fundamental question as phrased by that body is: Can federal

⁷ *Pierce v. Society of Sisters of Jesus and Mary*, 268 U. S. (1925), 510 ff.

participation in education be kept within proper bounds, so that the benefits of healthy, vigorous local enterprise are not lost? It has been the function of this chapter to demonstrate that the Federal government has been in the business of education, public and private, for a long time and that precedents for continued federal action are both numerous and well-established. More specifically, this discussion has indicated that programs of direct federal assistance, first with lands and more recently with money, have long since become accepted elements of national policy. There seems small room for doubt that the American educational system is what it is today in considerable measure because of federal participation and support, that side by side with the traditions of local and state control of education there has developed a tradition of federal or national *responsibility* for education. Our problem at this point is essentially one of assimilating and learning to live with these apparently contradictory but potentially complementary forces.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

BASIC QUESTION. Granted the legitimacy of local and state control over education as a governing policy, why is it nevertheless true that education in the United States today is also a *national* concern? Why must the Federal government be actively and responsibly engaged in the conduct of the educational enterprise?

- 1 Why did the Founding Fathers omit any reference to education in the drafting of the Constitution?
- 2 The United States Constitution makes no explicit reference to education. How would you defend against the contention that federal participation in education is unconstitutional? Is there any support for such federal activity in the Constitution itself?
- 3 All proposals of federal involvement in education are met with the cry that federal control of education will surely follow. In how far is this fear valid, justified? Is it feasible or desirable to think of federal participation in a limited sense? If so, what limits do you suggest?
- 4 Why do you think it came about that federal monetary aid was first obtained for vocational education rather than for education in general?
- 5 What has been the history of the federal educational office? Is it adequate to the federal responsibility today? What changes are required?

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6. Look into the history of the administration of the Morrill Land Grant College Act, the Smith Hughes Vocational Education Act, the Civilian Conservation Corps program, or the G.I. Bill of Rights. What does this investigation indicate regarding the character of federal participation in education? What suggestions for future policy are indicated?
7. Is the Federal government obligated to extend its aid and support to nonpublic as well as public education?
8. Consider the several and various educational activities in which the Federal government is currently engaged. Are any of these programs inappropriately or unwisely operated at the federal level?

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CHAPTER 15

Education and World Organization

The History and Organization of UNESCO

THE UNITED NATIONS Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (hereafter to be referred to as UNESCO) is one of the major specialized agencies of the United Nations. In its organization and in the conception which governs it, UNESCO is far broader in scope and design than education alone. However, the educational objectives and activities which are here to be noted constitute the main components of UNESCO efforts and it seems clear that educational interest and energies have afforded the infant organization its main support.

In many respects UNESCO represents a radically new departure in international affairs. It is not totally without precedent, for cooperative educational ventures among nations have a rather sizable history, and proposals of international educational associations can be traced back at least to 1817. Most noteworthy, perhaps, of UNESCO's earlier antecedents was the very successful International Education Congress held in conjunction with the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition in 1876, a gathering at which many nations went on record in favor of more extensive and more active international educational association. Among the leading advocates of such a move was the then United States Commissioner of Education, General John Eaton.

It was not until the period of World War I, however, that effective efforts in this direction were further stimulated. As a result of grow-

ing interest, the League of Nations in 1921 established an International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation which soon developed into a bona fide agency of the League with headquarters in Paris. By sponsoring and encouraging the international exchange of teachers and textbooks, organizing joint studies of the teaching of key areas in international affairs, and holding meetings and institutes, this agency did much to advance the cause of international education. Again in 1929 an International Bureau of Education was established at the University of Geneva. Gaining the support of many governments, this office produced significant studies in comparative education and a series of statistical yearbooks, and promoted an annual International Conference on Public Instruction.

Significantly, the United States was not officially affiliated with either of these bodies. However, the period between the wars was featured by much private American activity in this field. Various American organizations associated themselves with international bodies, for example, the International Committee of Historical Sciences. Others like the American Council on Education, the Institute of International Education, the National Education Association, as well as the Rockefeller and Carnegie Foundations, interested themselves extensively in the promotion of intercultural relations. Belatedly in 1936 the United States government gave official support to activities and policies for the realization of closer intellectual cooperation among the countries of the Western Hemisphere. This action in turn led to the creation of a Division of Cultural Relations in the Department of State and the launching of a genuine program of financial aid and professional support for educational advance among the American nations. All this was further enhanced by the fact that the late 1930's was a period of rapid increase in the number of foreign students in the United States and of American students abroad.

The realization of a full fledged, widely sponsored organization with the backing of governments from all over the world was a direct result of World War II. This war, unlike the first, seems to have crystallized on a world wide scale a realization of the need for a strong international cultural agency. As the war progressed, it became increasingly clear that any program for peace would have to concern itself

with the educational reconstruction of countries ravaged by war no peace would be secure which ignored this fact. It was further widely held that any organization which might be created ought to be entirely disconnected from the old League of Nations. Thus it was that associations, publicists and statesmen evidencing a growing sensitivity to the problem began to lay plans for a new international educational body. These efforts bore fruit when the Council of Allied Ministers of Education, meeting in London in 1943 undertook to sponsor the establishment of such an organization. A draft for a United Nations Educational and Cultural Organization was the result.

These labors were incorporated in the original construction of the United Nations Organization. Mindful of the fact that the League of Nations Covenant had failed to provide for cultural cooperation and fully in accord with the pressure for vigorous international educational action the drafters of the United Nations Charter gave explicit sanction for such activity. Article 55 of the United Nations Charter provides that "The United Nations shall promote international cultural and educational cooperation. And Article 57 states that

Specialized agencies established by intergovernmental agreement and having wide international responsibilities in social cultural education[al] and related fields shall be brought into relationship with the United Nations. In 1945 following the adoption of the charter, representatives of forty four member nations of the United Nations (not including the USSR) met in London and established the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization. Its first meeting was held in Paris in 1946 where the permanent headquarters have been established. By 1956 the membership had reached sixty-eight nations now including the Soviet Union and general sessions of the organization had been held in widely scattered parts of the world. Florence Montivideo Mexico City New York City, with another such meeting planned for New Delhi in 1957.

The Over-all Program of UNESCO

The United Nations has created a number of specialized agencies to deal with various international problems. The Food and Agricul

ture Organization (FAO) and the World Health Organization (WHO) are among these. While educational interest was perhaps uppermost in promoting UNESCO, and while it seems clear that educational questions will loom largest in the conduct of UNESCO affairs, it is well to remember that the agency's responsibilities extend far beyond what is conventionally carried under the education label. The fifth session of the General Conference of UNESCO, meeting in Florence in 1950, adopted a set of resolutions with the following preamble¹

In defining the purpose of UNESCO as that of advancing through the educational and scientific and cultural relations of the peoples of the world, the objectives of international peace and of the common welfare of mankind, they [the signatories] have declared that the wide diffusion of culture and the education of humanity for justice and liberty and peace are indispensable to the dignity of man and constitute a sacred duty which all the nations must fulfil. They have agreed that peace must be founded, if it is not to fail, upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind.

The centrality of educational concerns here is obvious but the relevance of a wide variety of other types of activities is also clear.

UNESCO is charged by its own constitution with three main fields of responsibility. It is to collaborate in the work of advancing the mutual knowledge and understanding of peoples, through all means of mass communication, to give fresh impulse to popular education and the spread of culture, and to maintain, increase, and diffuse knowledge. More specifically, UNESCO's functions include the following:

- 1 To eliminate illiteracy and encourage fundamental education
- 2 To obtain for each person an education conforming to his aptitudes and to the needs of society, including technological training and higher education
- 3 To promote through education respect for human rights throughout all nations
- 4 To overcome the obstacles to the free flow of persons, ideas and knowledge between the countries of the world

¹ UNESCO and Its Programme II The Basic Programme adopted by the Fifth Session of the General Conference, Florence 1950 UNESCO publication 785 p 1

5. To promote the progress and utilization of science for mankind
6. To study the causes of tensions that may lead to war and to fight them through education
7. To demonstrate world cultural interdependence
8. To advance through the press, radio and motion pictures the cause of truth, freedom and peace
9. To bring about better understanding among the peoples of the world and to convince them of the necessity of cooperating loyally with one another in the framework of the United Nations
10. To render clearing house and exchange services in all its fields of action, together with services in reconstruction and relief assistance²

Few, if any, agencies in the world's history have ever been given such a herculean assignment. Never has it been more important that the job be carried through successfully.

Through its several official departments the energies of the UNESCO organization have come to be directed toward three primary and specific centers of activity. The first is the program of "fundamental education," the attempt to eliminate illiteracy. The size and scope of the challenge implicit in this commitment were ably summarized by the second Director-General of UNESCO, Jaime Torres Bodet of Mexico:³

Something like 5 percent of all the human beings in the world have completed high school. Probably not more than one fourth of all our fellow men on the planet have even a rudimentary grasp of science, history, geography, and the arts. Only half the human race can read and write.

We shall presently describe the fundamental education program in some detail but it is well to note here that this effort is of the sort most likely to receive the support of underdeveloped, depressed nations, and least likely to become embroiled in ideological or political controversy. Far less "safe" is the second major area of attack—the problem

² For a most useful and timely assessment of UNESCO and its activities, see the report of the American Legion's Special Committee on the Covenant of Human Rights and United Nations. *United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)* (Indianapolis, Indiana, 1955).

³ Quoted in "UNESCO Starts Its Fourth Year," *School Review*, 57 (November 1949), p. 462.

of decreasing tensions and increasing understanding among peoples. This, sometimes referred to as the "tension project," is clearly less simple, more loaded and explosive than are attempts to reduce illiteracy. The third focus of effort is that of improving the material conditions of living in the less favored countries, on the premise that no genuine or lasting intellectual improvement is possible without accompanying improvements in such matters as health, dietetics, agricultural methods, and housing. But even here the task can be approached only by means of education.

The "E" in UNESCO—The Educational Program

The permanent organization of UNESCO provided for a "Department of Education." Within the framework of the general purposes and over all patterns just described, the department holds three primary responsibilities:

Fundamental Education—The program to extend educational opportunity in substandard areas, with particular reference to the elimination of illiteracy, as one means of raising the general standard of living.

Continuing Services in Education—a program of general aid to and encouragement of educational activities in more developed areas.

Education for International Understanding—organized efforts to increase the means and resources for international understanding.

Let us examine briefly a few activities representing these three areas.

The Fundamental Education Program. From its inception UNESCO has listed as the first of its many objectives the elimination of illiteracy and the encouragement of fundamental education. From the outset UNESCO has sponsored and promoted a program of reducing or eradicating illiteracy among adults and of making education more widely available to children. Coupled with this has been the concern that the curricula which are developed be more appropriate to the real needs of the people, that education be functional for the masses.

In this endeavor UNESCO has produced many notable researches and publications dealing with the problems attendant upon fundamental education. Seminars, institutes, and conferences, both within

particular countries and on a regional basis, have been sponsored. Where these have permitted the joint consideration of problems by representatives from similar cultures, they have proved particularly valuable. UNESCO has sponsored educational missions, supplying professional leadership and some financial aid, to several countries, for example, India, Thailand, Afghanistan, Philippine Islands, Bolivia, and Columbia.

One of the major projects of this sort, and among the most widely publicized, began in Haiti in June, 1949. It was hoped that the experiment in fundamental education in Haiti would serve as one of several "pilot projects" or models, illustrative of the force and potential in this program. Remarkable results were achieved in a very short time, but the difficulties which had to be surmounted were gigantic. Too little money was available, and too few qualified personnel were obtainable at any price. There was increasing realization of the fact that a program of educational improvement cannot succeed in a vacuum, that educational advance is of small consequence if agricultural conditions remain primitive or disease continues rampant. Illustrative of the tremendous resources for human development which are inherent in programs of this nature was the Haitian experience in the production of textbooks. It was early recognized that suitable reading matter on an adult level but in simple language was essential for newly literate adults. Children's books would not suffice and without reading material appropriately graded, the newly acquired literacy would go by default. Kendrick N. Marshall, of the United States Office of Education, reported on this aspect of the Haiti experience.⁴

UNESCO has recognized this need for providing graded materials of significant content for new literates, and through the work of its Haiti pilot project in fundamental education has suggested a pattern for effective production. A small team was assembled for the preparation of materials to be used in the classes of the pilot project. At the outset the project faced an interesting problem which arises in many areas where fundamental education is being introduced. Should reading be taught

⁴ Kendrick N. Marshall, "The Fundamental Education Program of UNESCO," *Hartford Educational Review*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (Summer 1950), pp. 141-142. Used by permission.

in French, the language of the Haitian elite, or in Creole, the "patois" of over 90 percent of the people?

On the one hand, it was recognized that a vernacular is often incapable of serving as a vehicle of communication for the complex mass of modern knowledge. Furthermore, an ability to read and write the official language of the country constitutes one of the rungs on the ladder up which the occasional rural boy or girl may climb to a more attractive life. On the other hand, the majority of the people will long continue to speak the vernacular which has been the medium of their culture, and therefore the information required for use in their daily lives can best be imparted in the vernacular. The UNESCO project decided to prepare its basic reading materials in Creole, which had never before been considered an authentic written language. For students who mastered the Creole and who could continue their study, instruction in French as an auxiliary language would be provided.

The Haitian educator, who has since become the assistant director of the pilot project, prepared three basic Creole primers, and a literacy specialist on leave from the United States Office of Education prepared four texts, progressively more difficult, and four supplementary readers. These books in Creole were skillfully made to contribute to the purposes of fundamental education in Haiti by describing the ways in which a typical peasant, Ti Josef, dealt with such problems as soil erosion and housing, or learned how to prevent yaws and malaria. Excellent illustrations by an accomplished Haitian artist give added power to the materials, which were carefully tested in the field before final publication.

Another illustration of UNESCO at work is provided by the efforts to develop a written language for general use in Nigeria. Here, an American expert was employed to try to solve "one of the most perplexing problems facing modern educators—how to teach the ABC's to people who have no alphabets." This mission, in the typical UNESCO pattern, was requested by the Nigerian government. The expert was to spend a year in that country, living in a trailer, traveling about the rural interior. With a variety of technical equipment, he set about to record a significant portion of Nigeria's five hundred different languages and dialects. The ultimate object was to attempt to determine which words, accents, and idioms are common, or at least widely used. By, for example, recording a story told in one village and playing it

in another, the investigator expected to be able to discover the degree of intelligible communication between villages and tribes. This and other techniques, it was felt, would eventually make possible the devising of a phonetic alphabet as the basis for a common written language. The problems are great and the difficulties numerous, to be sure, but the challenge and the possible rewards for success are incalculable.

Continuing Services in Education. Included in this category are a number of operations, in existence or in prospect, designed to stimulate and encourage general educational advance. A wide variety of activities has been developed to work in cooperation with regular national educational programs or with national and international educational associations. Perhaps typical of this type of UNESCO undertaking are the programs in adult education and in higher education.

"In a sense the whole UNESCO program bears, directly, or indirectly, upon adult education." So stated the director of UNESCO's work in adult education and the several expressions of UNESCO's responsibilities which have been noted seem amply to support this view. There are, however, objectives and goals governing the adult education program which give it a unique flavor in the roster of UNESCO activities. It is the responsibility of this department to promote and support the development of a "common culture" and the elimination of intellectual friction between the "so-called masses" and the "so-called elite." The adult education program is committed to the stimulation of genuinely democratic, tolerant attitudes and to the encouragement of youth in the midst of contemporary adversities. More specifically, this arm of UNESCO is charged with combating the specialization and cultural isolation of modern life and the cultivation of "an enlightened sense of belonging to a world community."⁵

To these ends, as in the other departments of UNESCO, there have been seminars and conferences on both international and regional levels. Programs of student and teacher exchange have been instituted and ideas have flowed among the nations through the medium of UNESCO publications devoted to adult education practices. Considerable study of a comparative international character has been spon-

⁵ H. C. Hunsaker, 'UNESCO's Work in Adult Education,' *Harvard Educational Review*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (Summer 1950), p. 171

sored, and expert assistance for particular problems has been made available. Here, too, it would seem that the potential for international well being is immense, but only the merest beginnings have yet been made.

In the promotion of international cooperation in the area of higher education, many of the same objectives obtain and similar techniques are utilized. While the results in this phase of UNESCO work have not been so immediately encouraging as in some other areas, progress has been made. Several meetings of representatives from various nations have been held to consider mutual college or university problems. Fruitful exchange of views and practices has been achieved in the discussion of such questions as the equivalence over the world of academic degrees, the organization of general education for international understanding, or the rules and regulations governing college admission. Late in 1950 these efforts culminated in the formation of the International Association for Universities in Nice.

Education for International Understanding. In its efforts to promote a more broadly intercultural, internationalistic approach to education—at all levels—UNESCO has given special emphasis to the matter of improving textbooks and other teaching materials. There is abundant evidence that, by virtue of deliberate policy or through carelessness, every nation has in some way permitted its schools to become agencies of cultural misconception, misunderstanding, prejudice, or hate, through officially sanctioned and prescribed textbooks, films, periodicals, and other teaching aids. UNESCO early set itself the task of studying and analyzing teaching materials to discover ways and means of enhancing their contributions to international understanding. While this undertaking has been woefully understaffed and inadequately financed, a number of significant achievements can be reported. Attempts, which many regard as highly successful, have been made to devise standards for textbooks in fields which relate directly to international or intercultural relations: history, economics, government, art, and so on. Rather intensive analyses of the textbooks in use in various countries have been conducted with a view to encouraging a more broadly intercultural point of view. A central library or clearinghouse of textbooks and other materials from all over the world has been

established in Paris. The nations are being encouraged to make use of these findings and facilities and to apply them in critically examining their own materials. Finally, this section of the UNESCO education department is attempting to produce textbooks which can serve as models in the matter of demonstrating or illustrating positive and acceptable principles of international education

The Chief Obstacles to the UNESCO Program

No effort as far-reaching, as unique, and as basic in the nature of its reorientations as this can hope to make large strides immediately. Such accomplishments as have been cited here have only been realized over tremendous obstacles, and the future success of UNESCO is by no means assured. It is well that we note the nature of some of these difficulties, recognizing that it is only in surmounting these that the UNESCO idea, if it be deemed valid, can hope to succeed.

Probably the pre-eminent problem is implicit in the statement of Bodet quoted earlier. The task ahead is gigantic, and it is complicated by the fact that where illiteracy and ignorance prevail, there exist also poverty and economic depression. Thus, where the needs are greatest the resources—in material wealth, in intellectual development, and in qualified personnel—are most lacking. In addition, cultural and linguistic barriers exist, making the matter of communication infinitely more difficult. With ignorance usually appears an inability to accept or adjust to cultural change, and so even attempts to remove the ignorance are met with hostility and resentment. Cultural or national pride, accompanied by fear of the operations of some supranational centralized authority, usually produces a tendency to regard suggestions of innovation or renovation as insulting and unacceptable.

Within UNESCO itself major obstacles are numerous. Many experts insist that the organizational structure of this body is utterly unsuited to the job it has to do, that it is plagued by overlapping jurisdictions, vague delineations of authority, and an untenable departmentalization. This may be true, but far more of a roadblock to the successful realization of UNESCO's aims was the absence until 1954 of one of the world's two major powers, the U.S.S.R. Many feared that UNESCO,

dedicated as it is to bringing together different cultures and ideologies, could never work at full power without the active participation of the Soviet Union. Whether or not this contention is honored, the difficulties in UNESCO's way were vastly increased by this condition.

UNESCO suffers, too, from the disinterest or apathy of its members. "It is unrealistic to believe that an organization such as UNESCO, with education funds about equal to those of a small suburban American school district, can serve by itself to create the defenses of peace" throughout the world. The wonder is that, with only a few million dollars per year, UNESCO has achieved so much. For the expert professional leadership which such projects require cannot be had for the salaries UNESCO can pay, neither can such persons be attracted to remain long enough to carry a project to completion. Nor, lacking funds, can UNESCO attend to those areas most in need of assistance or rehabilitation.

But the organization is young, and the peoples of the world have yet to come to a full acceptance of its primary role in the establishment of a democratic community of nations. In this, the American school must play an important part.

The Role of the American School

Essentially there are two views of the proper response of American education to the challenge inherent in the UNESCO idea. There are those who see in the whole United Nations program a serious threat to American independence, who fear the costs—spiritual as well as material—of international involvement. Such find no potential in UNESCO for strengthening American culture and ideals but only the prospect that those ideals will disappear or become subordinated as world organization develops. Epitomizing this point of view as it relates to the conduct of education is the following from an organization known as The Friends of the Public Schools. In a discussion of pending federal aid to education legislation, this group held that

Those who realize the danger in the Federal Aid to Education bill must gird their loins and get ready for a more determined fight than heretofore if such a bill in some form is not to be passed. The size of

the bill is unimportant to the educators. They want the bill. They then can, much easier [*sic*], force the teaching of WORLD CITIZENSHIP upon the children of the country while at the same time *deprecating patriotism . . . Teaching any citizenship except American to America's children is betraying the nation . . . And world citizenship is not Americanism in any sense whatsoever. It is simple DEGRADATION OF AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP, PATRIOTISM AND AMERICAN IDEALS*⁶

Clearly, the role of the school when seen in these terms is one of reinforcing or maintaining cultural isolation and national self centeredness. The school in such a context must reject the world view for which UNESCO stands. As such the school becomes yet another and mightier obstacle to the realization of UNESCO's aims.

Others hold an opposite conception of the part that must be played by the American school in the world of the mid twentieth century. These argue that, with or without a UNESCO or even a United Nations organization, the facts of life have added a new dimension to American education. This, they contend, can neither be shrugged off nor ignored, we are forced to learn to live with it. This new dimension is the vastly changed and altogether unprecedented position of the United States in the modern world. It is naive, nay, folly, to pretend that the nation with the greatest wealth, the highest productive capacity, and the largest potential for moral democratic leadership can escape international responsibilities of the gravest and broadest sort. American education faces the same challenge. The details of this challenge are not far to seek. They emerge inevitably from the nature of contemporary international affairs and from the spirit which activates the UNESCO program, perhaps nowhere more poignantly epitomized than in these words of Bodet:

Too much has been said in the twentieth century about zones of enlightenment and zones of darkness, about progressive and backward areas. Humanity is one. So long as there is a single backward area, the whole earth will be backward and, as long as there is a single culturally dark zone, the whole earth will be in cultural darkness. In fact, though we may not realize it, we move forward like ships in convoy, at the speed of the slowest . . . Two thirds of the human race live in fear of

⁶ Friends of the Public Schools, *Bulletin*, Vol. XI, No. 1 (July 1948), p. 1

enslavement—enslavement by ignorance Wherever any man suffers, there all humanity suffers

Briefly stated, the responsibilities of the American school in this new context involve at least the following functions

1 American education, it is maintained, must promote an increasingly more incisive *and* more devoted study of American culture Effective world leadership requires that we understand as fully as possible the strengths and weaknesses, the achievements and the inadequacies of the American experience Equally important and essential to the effective assumption of such leadership is an increased and more intelligent dedication to the humanitarian ideals of democracy, the ideals which we believe hold the promise for a peaceful world

2. But this, obviously, is only the beginning of education's role in developing international understanding and harmony More than ever before, Americans must come to know with some degree of intimacy other peoples and other cultures Our studies of world history and geography must be made both more extensive and more functional, in order that the decisions we are called upon to make may be made with some genuine knowledge of the facts and issues involved These studies of other cultures cannot deal exclusively with the political and economic aspects of life They must be broadened to encompass the arts, the traditions, and the religious faiths of the world's peoples as well No true understanding of a culture will emerge from a study of its material features alone Here it should be added that the American school, and we are speaking of all grade levels, must expand its coverage to include the several non Western cultures, of *Russia, China, India, Indonesia* and the Moslem world, along with those occidental peoples more conventionally studied Attention to these groups in our schools and colleges is long overdue

3 It follows from this that the American school is faced also with an increased responsibility in the matter of teaching foreign languages Many are convinced that such study is neither necessary nor suitable for the great majority of American youth and is an area which should remain preponderantly the province of those anticipating higher education Increasing numbers, however, are voicing the view that a far

more vigorous encouragement of foreign language study in American secondary—and elementary—schools is mandatory in these times. If our objective is the attainment of increased understanding of other peoples, a more widespread ability to read and converse in their tongues would seem almost essential, and for larger numbers of us than ever before. Any steps toward international harmony will certainly be enhanced by an ability to talk the same language. It would appear that the more broadly based such intercommunication can become, the more sure and effective will be our attempts to develop world peace and stability.

4 A fourth element of responsibility is probably more properly designated a responsibility of the educator than of the school. We refer here to the vast need which exists in so many parts of the world for trained leadership in such fields as curricular design, child psychology, instructional method, or school building construction. As in medicine or engineering or agriculture, so too in education the demand for sympathetic, expert aid and advice is urgent and world wide. UNESCO, or any similar effort, like education itself, will be effective only in proportion to the number of dedicated humanitarians whose services can be enlisted. The challenge, and the opportunities, are immense, the stakes may well be the peace of the world.

* * *

One or two hundred years from now, some educational historian may write of the establishment of UNESCO in terms comparable to those we have used in describing the founding of Harvard College or the passage of the Morrill Act. The perspectives of American education have irrevocably changed, and a UNESCO or some successor body is destined to play an increasing part in shaping the course of the American school. This chapter has been concerned to indicate some thing of the scope of the UNESCO effort, some details of its operations, and the chief problems with which it is confronted. New responsibilities fall upon the American school in the light of this new and global dimension. It is not an exaggeration to state that, in large measure, the future of the nation depends upon the skill and wisdom with which the school meets this challenge.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

BASIC QUESTION How adequate is UNESCO to the task at hand, as you see it? What are its major strengths and weaknesses? Since the United States is the unquestioned leader of the democratic world, what steps must we take in reorienting our educational philosophy so that the international effort may become effective?

- 1 Are there any precedents for an international effort of this type and scope? Is there hopeful evidence that such a program as that to which UNESCO is directed can succeed?
- 2 For this kind of program to succeed, is it essential that the educational philosophy and system of all nations be patterned after the philosophy and system of some one nation, perhaps the United States? Why is this a desirable or an undesirable principle?
- 3 Certain groups in this country are opposed to international educational efforts because these efforts, they claim, are "un American." They argue, in effect, that you cannot teach internationalism without compromising loyalty and devotion to the United States. Is this a tenable position? If not, how would you refute it and how would you teach in your field in such a way as to demonstrate that internationalism and Americanism are indeed harmonious interests?
- 4 As a student of education, how do you react to proposals of an international language?
- 5 It is widely assumed that the better we know another people, another culture, the greater will be our attachment or our good will toward that other culture. To what extent are you prepared to accept this view, and what is the bearing of your response upon the conduct of American education?
- 6 Examine some currently prominent American schoolbooks. Do you find in them any examples of questionable stereotyping, perpetuation of prejudice or misconception, or any misrepresentation of fact? In your judgment, are these accidental and unwitting, or deliberate? How would you handle these materials in your classroom?

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PART *five*

THE PREPARATION
AND SELECTION
OF TEACHERS

Credited to George Bernard Shaw is the statement: "Those who can, do. Those who can't, teach. Those who can't teach, teach others to teach." There is implicit in this remark both severe criticism of the caliber of persons engaged in teaching whom Shaw knew and a devaluation of the importance of teaching per se, an implication still all too current in the United States that "Well, if you can't do anything else, you can always teach." It is this latter aspect of the meaning of the Shavian witticism with which this section is concerned.

The section raises two major sets of questions. What qualities of temperament, personality, and intellect are prime requisites for effective teaching? Can just anyone teach, or, more appropriately, teach effectively in the modern American school? If this job is as important as the American people believe it is, what should that people look for and strive to obtain in its teachers? What steps has society, through its representative political institutions, taken to facilitate the development of persons possessing these qualities? What does society require of those who would become the teachers of its children, what are the legal requirements which must be met by those seeking a license to teach in the American public school? This section also touches briefly upon the matter of teacher placement and initial employment, noting some of the more important conditions and considerations relevant to the problem of obtaining a teaching position.

Personality and Teaching

The Impact of Teacher Personality Upon the Educational Process

DOUBTLESS YOU CAN REMEMBER the colorful yet severe warm hearted yet logical and demanding teacher of English in your high school Or perhaps the calm, efficient, quietly humorfull teacher of your kindergarten or first grade Possibly, too, and sadly, you can recall a disorganized but tyrannical, excited but uninspired teacher of junior high school history To all of us, the impact of the teachers personalities upon the character and quality of our schooling is altogether evident and real, we gloried in and profited from it, or we sometimes too frequently, suffered, chafed, and occasionally revolted We are all well aware of the fact that somehow learning came more easily, or seemed to, when the teacher was likable or commanded our respect, that learning was hampered if not blocked entirely when a teacher's disposition or temperament was unpleasant or lacking in dignity

We do not know as much as we need to know about the actual effects of teacher personality upon the learning process. We cannot say with complete assurance and elaborate supporting evidence that *such and such a personality will certainly promote effective education* while another type of temperament will always constitute a hazard or a drawback We cannot even contend that a *sense of humor is a sure route to good teaching* or that severity and the absence of humor produce poor teaching There is an increasing interest in the relation-

ship of teacher personality and teaching effectiveness and a growing body of data and evidence to which we can turn for enlightenment

Tests and studies have been conducted which seem pretty clearly to demonstrate that teachers with stable personalities are likely to create or develop stable and efficient class situations while neurotic teachers are likely to produce a class atmosphere of tensions and frictions. There is considerable evidence to indicate that personal warmth and depth will be manifested in resourcefulness and adaptability in the classroom. We can speak with some assurance of the positive correlation between a teacher's sociability and his capacity for building rapport, a spirit of cooperation, and congeniality.

But we are, after all, here concerned with intangibles, qualities of the human spirit which do not lend themselves to measurement and dissection. We are, furthermore, not dealing with a succession of separate, distinct ingredients which can be examined and analyzed in isolation. The qualities of personality which go to enhance teaching effectiveness are numerous, it is true, but, more important, they are mutually interdependent and interconnected, so that any attempt at analysis becomes incomprehensibly complicated. We are forced to see teacher personality in the large, taking our evidence from a great variety of sources, in the hope that a useful composite will emerge. We turn to the findings of researches and to the stated opinions of students, teachers, and the general public on the question of teacher personality and teaching effectiveness, recognizing that we are here dealing with intangibles and probabilities.

Before turning to the evidence *per se*, let us attempt to establish the fact that teacher personality does have a very real impact upon educational activity. Paul Witty has reproduced excerpts from student essays written on the theme "The Teacher Who Has Helped Me Most" which seem to leave small room for doubt on this point. An eight year-old second grade boy wrote

I was a shy boy six years old when I started to school. Being with strange children was the biggest thing I ever hated to do in all my life. I was afraid to speak, afraid I would lose my hat, or lunch, or books, and was just afraid of everything. Mrs. F gave me a little chair at the

little table where other children were writing, drawing, using colored crayons, and just making funny marks on paper I sat there holding my hat, books, and lunch, afraid to move I hated the whole outfit called school She went on not trying to make me do a thing When anyone spoke to me I just looked at them Every day I was at the little table watching the other children By the end of the first week I had joined the children in making funny marks with pencil and crayons Mrs. F then gave me a copy of number and writing work to do and left me alone I kept wanting to do more work when I started and because she knew what to do she kept giving me more copy work to do, until I was not afraid to talk I hung my hat and lunch in the right places and found so much fun in school all because Mrs. F knew so much about children and what is best for them She made me not afraid of other children¹

An eleven year-old boy wrote

I am getting along fine with my work and enjoy going to school very much I am giving most of the credit to Miss X, who taught me during my third year in school She really dug down deep and started me on the road to learning Before this I hated school and everything about it My parents had to drive me off every morning and every time I got a chance I skipped school

I had often heard what a wonderful teacher Miss X was but I just couldn't make up my mind about her until I tried her The very first week she made me understand very clearly that school was not a jail house or a cage in which children were kept all day without any privileges or good times but a place where every one could work together, play together, share together, and live together . . . when we worked, she worked, when we played, she played She was right with us in everything we did she was so patient and kind you could not help but try to learn She was never too tired or busy when any one in the class needed help²

¹ Paul A. Witty "The Teacher Who Has Helped Me Most," *Elementary English*, XXIV (October 1947) pp 351-352 Used by permission

² *Ibid*

The Essential Personality Components of Effective Teaching

Granted, then, that there is a very real and vital impact of teacher personality upon the nature and quality of education, what are the elements in teacher personality which seem most likely to contribute to effective teaching? Can we isolate and examine those facets of human nature which seem to enhance education, and those which do not, remembering always their interdependence and mutuality? Each of us could doubtless construct a listing or a rating of personality characteristics which he would consider essentials, but these would differ at many points as our own personalities, our interests and needs, features of cultural background, and individual histories dictated. It seems appropriate, in view of the complexity and intangibility of this subject, to call in the experts, to ask the opinions of those most closely associated with teachers and teaching—the teachers themselves, the parents, and (perhaps most important and useful) the students.

As we consider these several statements of the essential personality components of effective teaching, the following from a leading researcher in the field of teacher education should serve as a word of caution:

Teaching is a complex professional vocation, and any assessment of it must be comparably complex. Pupil gain in achievement is but one of many considerations. A single score which will sum up all of the essential behavior and resource characteristics of the teacher probably should not be sought. The criteria of good teaching are multiple.

There is no particular single pattern in the form of a standardized profile which represents the good teacher. There are many combinations of traits possible which would make persons entirely acceptable to most situations. Further, special profiles will be called for by numerous special teaching conditions. An ideal balance for a school is to be looked for more in terms of the group of teachers than in any one person.

[The] statements of what constitutes a good teacher in any particular locality are in the nature of *policy statements*—emphasizing those qualities which are deemed acceptable to the person or group whose thinking has dominant force, whether it be the school board, an administrator,

the faculty, or local citizens. The ideal concept thus becomes one of fitting into the situation without too much sacrifice of one's own educational convictions. . . . We cannot expect to find such an ideal any more than we could expect to find . . . a single metal which would be ideal for all the purposes of industry.³

As Seen By Teachers. While teachers and school administrators would probably not agree as a group on the relative importance of the various personality components of good teaching, they would probably tend to select many of the same items as vital. On most, if not all, teacher analyses of this question such attributes as warmth, common sense or demonstrated good judgment, a sense of humor, and patience would surely appear. The relative emphasis to be placed on these and other characteristics will be conditioned largely by the individual teacher's area of interest, his family background, or his own school experience—and fundamentally, by his educational philosophy.

A useful approach to the profession's attitudes regarding the decisive elements of a teacher's personality is to consult the rating scales of teaching effectiveness now used by a considerable number of American school systems. Although the use of devices to "measure" or "rate" teaching effectiveness is criticized by many as invalid, unsound, or merely useless, the inclusion on such rating scales of items which reflect basic aspects of personality is significant for our purposes here. For an investigation and analysis of such items will indicate rather clearly those aspects of the personality of the teacher which the profession itself considers most important. It is not our intention to present detailed study of the contents of these rating scales, one such is reproduced on pages 320 to 322. It would be possible to construct a detailed and exhaustive list of attributes of personality which the profession deems all important, indeed, many of the rating scales currently in use run to several pages. Let us content ourselves with a brief citation of those elements which clearly seem to loom largest in most if not all such evaluative instruments. Examination discloses that the follow-

³ Douglas E. Scates, "The Good Teacher: Establishing the Criteria for Identification," *The Journal of Teacher Education*, Vol. I (June 1950), pp. 140-141. Used by permission.

SAN DIEGO CITY SCHOOLS

Teacher's Self Analysis Blank

Date _____

Teacher's Signature _____ School _____

Grade or Subject Taught _____ Principal _____

	1	2	3	4	5
	Excel lent	Above aver age	Aver age	Below aver age	Un satis fac tory
I. PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS					
1 Health and Physical Vigor					
a Has adequate energy to meet full demands of position					
b Is seldom absent because of illness					
c Has buoyant and happy disposition					
2 Personal Attractiveness					
a Is well groomed, neat					
b Has good physique and posture					
c Dresses appropriately					
3 Poise					
a Is well balanced emotionally					
b Has good self-control					
c Is confident and self possessed					
4 Speech					
a Has a pleasing voice, well modulated					
b Words distinctly and clearly enunciated					
c Is natural without mannerisms or affectation					
5 Imagination and Versatility					
a Has a keen sense of humor					
b Is resourceful, equal to emergencies					
c Is adaptable, open minded					
6 Judgment					
a Has a keen perception of values					
b Is discriminating, makes wise choices					
c Is consistent					
7 Leadership					
a Inspires confidence in his ability					
b Has initiative, originality, vision					
c Can plan, organize, and complete projects					
8 Sympathy and Tact					
a Is considerate of the feelings of others					
b Is friendly and courteous at all times					
c Is tolerant of opposing viewpoints					

	1	2	3	4	5
	Excellent	Above average	Average	Below average	Unsatisfactory
II PROFESSIONAL CHARACTERISTICS					
1 Understanding and Treatment of Children					
a Is a guide of child development rather than a teacher of subject matter					
b Controls through cooperation rather than domination					
c. Respects personality, a guide rather than a taskmaster					
2 Professional Equipment					
a Scholarly disposition, widely read, well informed					
b Training is thorough for work taught					
c Work evidences understanding of basic principles of learning					
3 Progressive Methods and Techniques					
a Work planned and well organized					
b Provision made for individual differences					
c Procedures exemplify best practice					
4 Cooperation					
a Is loyal to school program and policies					
b Is a good team worker, volunteers assistance					
c. Contributes to staff morale, a booster					
5 Rel ability and Integrity					
a Fulfils all obligations scrupulously					
b Has high standards of personal and professional ethics					
c Is frank, admits mistakes, is responsible					
6 Efficiency					
a In classroom management and hygiene					
b Promptness and accuracy in reports					
c Dependable in fulfilling routine assignments					
III EFFECTIVENESS OF WORK					
1 Growth of Pupils in Wholesome Attitudes and Interests					
a Initiative, breadth of interests, intellectual curiosities					
b Cooperation, tolerance, courtesy, participation					
c Ability to do critical thinking					

	1	2	3	4	5
	Excell- ent	Above aver- age	Aver- age	Below aver- age	Un- satis- factory
2 Scholastic Achievement of Pupils, Pupils Show					
a. Growth in good habits of study and work					
b. Mastery of essential facts and skills					
c. Knowledge acquisitions functional in life of child					
3 Public Relations					
a. Is an effective interpreter of school program and policies					
b. Meets parents easily, deals frankly but sympathetically with difficult adjustment problems					
c. Makes friends for the school system					
4 Professional Relations					
a. Contributes constructively to school and professional staff morale					
b. Actively supports local, state, and national professional organizations					
c. Is a positive influence for high professional standards					

Comment of Teacher _____

Comment of Principal _____

Principal's Signature _____

Date _____

Source A form prepared by the central office of the San Diego, California, City Schools to encourage a teacher to make a self analysis of his needs for improvement. Reproduced by permission of San Diego City Schools.

ing features are the most common, though these are not here presented in any assumed order of importance:

1. Personal appearance
2. Poise
3. Tact

4. Cheerfulness
5. Initiative and enthusiasm
6. Professional spirit
7. Alertness and adaptability
8. Self-control
9. Cooperativeness
10. Consideration
11. Dependability
12. Discretion

Other items, or refinements of those listed, could be entered without limit. Among teachers and school administrators, the personality factors in teaching loom large indeed. He who would become a teacher or who would serve the best interests of education as parent or responsible citizen cannot afford to discount their central importance.

As Seen By Parents. Recently, student teachers at a college conducted a survey to discover parental attitudes regarding the character of teachers.⁴ Mothers and fathers were asked two questions: "What kind of a teacher does your child need?" and "How can teachers help you with the job of bringing up your child?"

Taking the group as a whole, it is clear that today's parent wants a teacher who is a real person. Little disagreement was found among the collective ideas regarding the teacher as a person or the kinds of relationships between teacher and student which these parents thought to be most valuable.

Here, for example, are typical comments made by a group of fathers who are members of a "Dad's Club" in one elementary school. It is interesting to note that these men would have little to do with the stereotyped schoolmarm which they possibly knew as youngsters in school. "Teachers should not be afraid of us," one father remarked rather confidently. "They should be real people." Others said, "Teachers should be interested in what they are doing. . . should like little children. . . should be emotionally stable. . . have a feeling of security."

Discussion of "real people" brought the fathers to the teacher's personal life. They thought that it was a fine thing, for instance, to have married teachers in the classroom—"mothers, themselves, who really

⁴ See Jerome J. Disque, "If Parents Could Choose," *Childhood Education*, Vol. 27 (May 1951), pp. 408-412.

understand little children" One father quickly qualified his remark by saying that "teachers don't *have* to be married, however. The main thing is that they should really like youngsters" "And we should not expect teachers to be unnaturally stiff or too formal," another man added

Mothers, too, echoed the same feelings about teachers as real people . . . thought it was important for teachers to be "mature . . . patient . . . thoughtful" Others felt that teachers should have "imagination . . . a rich variety of personal interest . . . a creative way of doing things with young children"

Both fathers and mothers also found agreement about the qualities of teaching which they did *not* like "Harshness . . . sarcasm . . . bullying . . . favoritism . . . and indifference . . ."³

At the same time parents, when discussing what their children needed at school, gave voice to opinions favoring teachers with rigorous standards, "who will make my child work," and disciplinary force, "the kind of person who will make our children study." Parents seemed concerned about what might be termed the "professional attitudes" of teachers as they are reflected in instruction in the fundamentals "Theories of child development are fine," says such a parent. "But it is not a very realistic approach in giving our children what they really need"

Faced with this common parental reaction, many educators profess to see a basic contradiction in parental reasoning, as between the demand for "sympathy and understanding" on the one hand and "the 3 R's and discipline" on the other. This contradiction, the educators contend, will only be resolved as teachers "educate" parents to the real meaning of modern educational theories This places the burden of error on the parents and labels them old fashioned It is not intended here to reopen the philosophical debate (Chapters 57), but it is perhaps instructive to ask whether this conception of the teacher is in fact a contradiction, or whether on the contrary there is not indeed need for the teacher who is *both* sympathetic and demanding, who represents *both* human relations and scholarship At any rate, we have here a fairly typical statement of parental opinion on the matter of personality factors in teaching

³ *Ibid* Used by permission.

As Seen By Students. It may be that the most revealing and most significant analyses of effective teacher personality are obtained by consultation with the students themselves. Again, one's educational philosophy will materially condition the degree to which one considers student opinion valid, the person, for example, who finds no room for student decision on matters of curriculum or study is not likely to hold that student reaction to a teacher is very important. The fact remains that students are in contact with their teachers more continuously than anyone else, they are the ones most directly and immediately affected by teacher behavior, and they are the ones most likely to have definite and clear-cut opinions on the matter of desirable or undesirable teacher personality.

Obviously, the character of students' reactions to teachers will vary considerably as different age levels are consulted. The features of teacher personality which loom large for the kindergarten or primary school child are not likely at all points to be those which carry the greatest appeal for the high school or college student. For a complete picture it seems advisable and profitable to sample responses from various age and grade levels. One is struck by the presence of certain constants in such a comparative analysis: there appear to be certain elements of a teacher's personality which most students, regardless of age or level of maturity, hold to be vital and essential.

A study of pupil attitudes toward various aspects of school life was recently conducted by members of the staff of the Illinois State Normal University Training School. Some seven hundred public elementary school children were asked for free and direct observations regarding (among other things) their likes and dislikes about their teachers. Here are the responses which the surveyors felt were most typical and most representative, for the most part in the words of the children. The numbers in parenthesis indicate the grade level of the pupil who made the response.

I like a teacher who understands my troubles (8) I like my teacher because she understands me and helps me when I need it (6)
 . . . They help us read (2) Teachers let us have parties (2)
 . . . Why do teachers like everybody but me? (5) I like a teacher who is fair and believes what you tell her (3) . . . I don't think teach-

REASONS FOR LIKING "TEACHER A" BEST, ARRANGED IN ORDER OF FREQUENCY OF
MENTION, AS REPORTED BY 3,725 HIGH-SCHOOL SENIORS

<i>Reasons for liking "Teacher A" best</i>	<i>Frequency of mention Rank</i>	
Is helpful with school work, explains lessons and assignments clearly and thoroughly, and uses examples in teaching	1,950	1
Cheerful, happy, good natured, jolly, has a sense of humor, and can take a joke	1,429	2
Human, friendly, companionable, "one of us"	1,024	3
Interested in and understands pupils	937	4
Makes work interesting, creates a desire to work, makes class work a pleasure	805	5
Strict, has control of the class, commands respect	753	6
Impartial, shows no favoritism, has no "pets"	695	7
Not cross, crabby, grouchy, nagging, or sarcastic	613	8
"We learned the subject"	538	9
A pleasing personality	504	10
Patient, kindly, sympathetic	485	11
Fair in marking and grading, fair in giving examinations and tests	475	12
Fair and square in dealing with pupils, has good discipline	366	13
Requires that work be done properly and promptly, makes you work	364	14
Considerate of pupils' feelings in the presence of the class, courteous, makes you feel at ease	362	15
Knows the subject and knows how to put it over	357	16
Respects pupils' opinions, invites discussion in class	267	17
Not superior, aloof, "high hat," does not pretend to know everything	216	18
Assignments reasonable	199	19
Is reasonable, not too strict or "hard boiled"	191	20 5
Helpful with students' personal problems, including matters outside of class work	191	20 5
Dresses attractively, appropriately, neatly, and in good taste	146	22
Young	121	23
Work well planned, knows what class is to do	110	24
Enthusiastically interested in teaching	108	25
Gives students a fair chance to make up work	97	26
Home work assignments reasonable	96	27
Recognizes individual differences in ability	86	28
Frank "straight from the shoulder," a straight shooter	78	29 5
Personally attractive, good looking	78	29 5
Teaches more than the subject	74	31
Interested in school activities	68	32
Sticks to the subject	53	33
Modern	52	34
Sweet and gentle	50	35 5
Pleasant voice	50	35 5
Intelligent	42	37
Prompt and businesslike	41	38
Sincere	36	39
Knows more than the subject	32	40
Has pep	31	41
Uses good judgment	22	42
Cultured and refined	20	43

Source Frank W. Hart, *Teachers and Teaching*, by Ten Thousand High School Seniors (New York, Macmillan, 1934), pp. 131-132. Used by permission.

was respected also because she would not allow any undue foolishness or crudity

He was always on his toes, his topics were made interesting as he was well read and could talk about it firsthand. Each and every student was allowed to talk in the discussion as much and as frequently as the student wanted to. The textbook was followed but not taken on a diagram or word for word. He was interested in his students personally and always called them by their first names. He was their age; he didn't try to bring them to his age. He was neat, clean, and very energetic and dynamic. He was interested in topics and enthused us also. He would talk to us of baseball and all things boys love. He was one of us.

I liked Teacher A because she used her head and flunked me.

I liked this teacher best because he taught me a subject which I had become despaired in trying to learn. He was well prepared, having had seventy-four years of previous experience. He was capable of speaking seven languages fluently. As a matter of fact, he knew more than the books themselves. He, because of his age and training, caused one to have a great respect and good bearing while in his presence.⁸

Equally revealing are the statements descriptive of the teacher liked least. While Hart reports that the students declared three out of four of their teachers to be more like the teacher selected as best liked, the fact that one-fourth are rated more like the least liked teacher is a serious indictment.

I disliked Teacher Z as definitely as I have ever disliked any teacher because of the exceedingly degrading feeling he gave me. He was a well learned man and knew the matter at hand, but he didn't stick to his subject. Some of the disgraceful, demoralizing subjects he talked about made me feel a deep disgust and hatred toward him. He continually called us morons. Any teacher, even though good as he was, should be made extinct.

Teacher Z was a hardened, callous old crank. She seemed to be proud of her ability to be hard-boiled. She tried to force issues and to ride roughshod over your personal objections. When put in a bad spot, she never admitted herself to be wrong. Besides being a very poor teacher,

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REASONS FOR LIKING "TEACHER Z" LEAST, ARRANGED IN ORDER OF FREQUENCY OF MENTION, AS REPORTED BY 3,725 HIGH SCHOOL SENIORS

<i>Reasons for liking "Teacher Z" least</i>	<i>Frequency of mention</i>	<i>Rank</i>
Too cross, crabby, grouchy, never smiles, nagging, sarcastic, loses temper, "flies off the handle"	1,708	1
Not helpful with school work, does not explain lessons and assignments, not clear, work not planned	1,025	2
Partial, has "pets" or favored students, and "picks on certain pupils"	859	3
Superior, aloof, haughty, "snooty," overbearing, does not know you out of class	775	4
Mean, unreasonable, "hard boiled," intolerant, ill mannered, too strict, makes life miserable	652	5
Unfair in marking and grading, unfair in tests and examinations	614	6
Inconsiderate of pupils' feelings, hawls out pupils in the presence of classmates, pupils are afraid and ill at ease and dread class	551	7
Not interested in pupils and does not understand them	442	8
Unreasonable assignments and home work	350	9
Too loose in discipline, no control of class, does not command respect	313	10
Does not stick to the subject, brings in too many irrelevant personal matters, talks too much	301	11
"We did not learn what we were supposed to"	275	12
Dull, stupid, and uninteresting	275	13
Too old fashioned, too old to be teaching	224	14
Not 'fair and square' in dealing with pupils	203	15
Knows the subject but "can't put it over"	193	16
Does not hold to standards, is careless and slipshod in her work	190	17
Too exacting, too hard, gives no chance to make up work	183	18
Does not know the subject	170	19
Does not respect pupils' judgments or opinions	133	20
Too changeable, inconsistent, unreliable	122	21
Lazy, not interested in teaching	115	22
Not friendly, not companionable	98	23
Shows boy or girl favoritism	95	24
Dresses unattractively or in bad taste	92	25
Weak personality	85	26
Insincere	75	27
Personally unattractive	65	28
Does not recognize individual differences in pupils	64	29
Voice not pleasant	63	30

Source Frank W. Hart, *Teachers and Teaching*, by Ten Thousand High School Seniors (New York, Macmillan, 1934), pp. 250-251. Used by permission.

she was too old or had forgotten the problems of younger people. She should have been done away with in some painless way.

This teacher acts like she is teaching from a book written on "How to Teach." She gets up in front of a silent study hall and makes a long speech on "Talking or chewing gum and all of that and then every one starts doing just what she told them not to do and she has to go and get the principal. She is crabby all of the time. She never smiles. She won't even have her picture in the school yearbook with the other teachers.

The teacher I liked least of all was a crabby, sour old hen. If one walked, on an errand, through the hall she'd pounce upon you from behind a door and take down your family history, pedigree and what not before giving you a detention slip and turning you loose. She was concerted and never explained a problem once. In the year I was in her class she never smiled once and her aristocratic nose, hair (dog biscuit fashion), freckled face, and sour sneer made me boil. I'd like some day to see her get a little of her own medicine. The class should have presented her with a shrivelled, dried lemon for a token.⁹

These remarks speak for themselves. They seem clearly to underscore both the genuineness of student concern for the character of their teachers and the tremendous responsibility implied in the attempt to secure teachers who measure up to their exacting standards. Prospective teachers and school administrators ignore such evidences as these at great peril to the entire educational effort, and interested lay citizens are equally challenged.

The Teacher's Obligations to Himself

A great deal of emphasis is being placed these days on the matter of mental hygiene. The developments in psychology and psychiatry, the increasing recognition of the impact of social and cultural conditions on mental as well as physical health, and the growing awareness in all fields of endeavor that economic efficiency or general productivity is conditioned by the presence or absence of emotional stability, all of these have contributed to the realization that one's effectiveness

⁹Hart *op cit* pp 160 174 218 238

in any role is in large part a matter of what might be called the health of one's personality. It is no exaggeration to state that for no occupation is this more true than for teaching. We have seen already the high degree to which students, parents, and teachers themselves pay attention to the personality components in teachers. No assessment or evaluation of teaching is possible without reference to those factors.

The personality of the teacher in action is conditioned by influences outside his control. Considerable attention has been given in recent years to the analysis of those environmental and cultural forces which can and do affect the teacher's emotional stability or his mental health. Much could be reported here regarding the extent to which such factors as overcrowded classes, inadequate salaries, inhibitions on intellectual freedom, instances of thoughtless or stupid administrative practices, and countless others have mitigated against the fullest development and expression of a teacher's personality. No community can hope to obtain educational services of a high caliber if it refuses to face squarely its responsibilities in this vital area.

There are, sadly, those whom no amount of improved conditions or sympathetic policy will redeem, those who are simply misplaced as teachers in schools or colleges. The solution of this problem is to be found only in improved guidance techniques and services in collegiate institutions, in more effective procedures of teacher selection by school officials, and fundamentally in the elimination of the teacher shortage by enhancing the appeal of the profession. Fortunately the picture is more bright than dark. If the figures reported by Hart be true, if in other words students *are* finding three teachers with acceptable personalities to every one without, there is some ground for self-commendation. But not for complacency! The retention and expansion of this 75 percent figure depends in large measure upon the teachers themselves. As teachers, they have obligations *to themselves* which must be recognized, which cannot be shirked, else they suffer as individuals and education in general is weakened. Perhaps there are three 'R's, three fundamentals in the teacher's program of caring for himself as a professional person: relaxation, recreation, and research. Each of these is complementary in a sense to the others and contributes immeasurably to the enhancement of personality and to effectiveness as a teacher.

Let us consider them here as essential obligations which every teacher owes to himself

No one can teach very effectively for very long who is unable to relax Teaching is a continually intense occupation, and the normal teaching schedule at any level affords little opportunity for the release of tensions One is either continually before a group—and responsible for it—or he is on call as advisor, sponsor, or confidant The grading of papers, preparation of lessons, meetings with parents and faculty are essential features of any teacher's day and he is forced to adjust to a most strenuous regimen At the same time he is expected, and rightly so, to be pleasant, tolerant, flexible, and energetic Relaxation somehow, sometime is the keynote here Handbooks for teachers often contain suggestions on "how to relax," from prescriptions on how to snatch cat naps to suggested schedules for the use of free time The important thing is that the teacher deliberately and conscientiously make the provision It is easy to shrug this aside and rationalize its unimportance It is also dangerous

Recreation is relaxation too, but we might distinguish between the two by considering recreation as relaxation with a tangible result It would be ridiculous to enter into a discussion of the countless recreational avenues which one might profitably choose We can note the root meaning of the term—*re-creation*—and for our purposes place the emphasis on the element of creating something For anyone, but especially for the teacher, the joy, the spiritual satisfaction, and the rejuvenation of depleted energies which can be had from the act of creating something is indescribably but strikingly significant The "creation" may be a rendition of Chopin, a piece of upholstery, a flower arrangement, or a novel, it might be a Virginia Reel, a barbecue pit, a needlepoint sampler, or a piece of sculpture—but it is something new, and the teacher can say, 'I made that' Consider, in passing, the added color, depth, and vigor which experiences of this kind will contribute to one's teaching But consider primarily the balance and emotional rounding out which recreation can promote Indeed, one can hardly conceive of the truly effective teacher without assuming this to be a part of his essence

Research is the third of the requirements here postulated as basic elements in the teacher's obligations to himself. Much could be said concerning the teacher's responsibility for keeping up in his field, whether college chemistry or kindergarten procedures. This, again, is of the nature of the obligations which a teacher *as teacher* owes to his community, teaching to be genuinely fruitful requires this. Our concern here is for research more broadly conceived. One dictionary defines research as "continued and diligent investigation", to be a complete person, the teacher must cultivate the habit of continued and diligent investigation in a wide variety of areas, not necessarily strictly related to his particular area of emphasis. The teacher owes it to himself to give some attention to his esthetic side, to the business of keeping informed about the course of world affairs, to staying abreast of developments in the sciences, to broadening his perspectives generally.

Not long ago a professor of social anthropology was asked by a group of teachers to devise a personal rating scale by means of which the teachers could check their personal educational growth. Included in this inventory¹⁰ of personal activities were several questions dealing with conscious planned efforts to increase one's understanding of his culture and the world, affirmative answers to which were felt to be indications of personal growth. Among the questions appeared the following:

2. Do I subscribe to (or have access to) and regularly read at least the following:
 - a. Some reliable news medium such as *Time* or the *Sunday New York Times*?
 - b. Some 'quality' magazine dealing with current thought and opinion such as *Harper's*, *The Atlantic Monthly*, *The American Scholar*?
 - c. Some magazine devoted at least in part to book reviews and literary criticism such as the *Saturday Review of Literature*, the *New York Herald Tribune Book Review*?
 - d. A first rate professional journal?

¹⁰ In: C. Brown "Twenty Questions: a Personal Rating Scale," *Peabody Journal of Education* Vol. 28 (September 1950), pp. 89-91.

- 3 Do I during the year (apart from school assignments) read at least two dozen serious books in the fields of biography, history, current affairs, social problems, or literature (including a fair number of classics read or re read)?
4. Do I make some serious effort to increase my understanding and appreciation of art, literature, and music through the use of pictures, lectures, concerts, records, plays, books, and selective radio listening?
- 6 Do I have some consistent plan for professional reading and for professional growth and development?
- 19 Am I continuously enlarging the horizon of my knowledge, interest, and concern so as to become in the best sense of the word a citizen of the world?
- 20 Am I honestly trying to develop what Overstreet calls 'The Mature Mind' so that I may grow up before I grow old? ¹¹

Here is an ambitious proposal. Yet the teacher who would be a real person and who would convey to all around him, including his students, that he is well rounded, happy, balanced, and adjusted must take steps to meet the demands implicit in such questions as these

Throughout this discussion of the three 'R's' of the teacher's duty to himself, it is clear that what he owes to himself is at many, perhaps all, points indistinguishable from his obligation to his profession and to society. What we are trying to convey here is some sense of the urgent need for the teacher to recognize and accept these concomitant obligations. It is the teacher for whom these areas are vital and demanding who avoids getting into the rut of mechanical, repetitive, hence unproductive teaching. And it is this type teacher, too, who demonstrates by the humanity and breadth of his interests and activities what it is to live a full life in the best sense. As the teacher conscientiously concerns himself with his own all round growth, he unavoidably enhances his effectiveness and his significance in education. Teaching, when approached in the context of this collection of attitudes, becomes a profession second to none in the pleasures, stimulations, and satisfactions it can provide.

¹¹ *Ibid*. Used by permission

Again the evidence clearly speaks for itself. And the challenge that is implicit in these reports and in the responses of students and parents is equally distinct and vital. It is a challenge which must be met and taken up, as Laycock points out, by society itself. It is also a call to teachers in service, to candidates for the teaching profession, to schools of teacher education, and to colleges of liberal arts. This challenge is aptly, and beautifully, summed up by Robert Ulich when he notes that the universal educational problem is "how to find the teacher who combines impressive technical skill with the humanistic quality and methodical art of a good teacher." Surely, this "humanistic quality" and the "methodical art," and perhaps the "technical skill" as well, are matters integrally bound up with the personality of the teacher. The central theme of this chapter and its critical purport for our times seem handsomely to be presented as Ulich continues.¹⁴

Whatever the special field of a teacher may be, whether mathematics, English, a science, a craft, or a foreign language, one condition should be fulfilled, which for a mass profession may be almost too high an ideal. Though the teacher cannot be a "creative" mathematician, scientist, linguist, or artist in the strict sense of the word—how many of our university professors are?—he should have acquired a sense of the creative process. Of what use is a man who talks about horsemanship, and has never been on a horse? But thousands of teachers talk about science and have never projected themselves into the exciting situation of a great discovery, others speak about art and seem never to have felt the intensity of experience out of which a work of art arises, if only with the effect that they might have discovered the difference between the mind that creates and the mind that explains.

Today we have become modest with regard to the influence of the school and the teacher upon society. We know that education is much more the determined than the determining factor in human culture. However, to a degree, it is both. For civilization is not a dead mass of material which can be moved like furniture from the house of the deceased into the house of the heirs. While passing from one generation to another, civilization changes its character according to the spirit of those who transmit—for transmission of values is not just a process of

¹⁴ Robert Ulich, "On the Education of Teachers," *Harvard Educational Review* Vol. XX (Spring 1950), pp. 75-76. Used by permission.

"handing down", it is at the same time re interpretation, it involves choice and selection, it is continual renascence or it is nothing but a show and a burden. Thus the teacher, who is the transmitter, must also be the interpreter, the selective agent, the reviver and regenerator, otherwise he is not a blessing, but a curse to the younger generation. If he looks at the drama of civilization with lifeless eyes, if he does not feel as one of the actors in this perennial drama, how can his pupils learn from him more than dead knowledge?

Let us never forget this when we speak of the role of the *teacher* in the culture of nations. Either he is one of its most active participants, or he is one of its destroyers.

* * *

This chapter opened and closed with a fundamental conviction: that teacher personality is the most important single factor conditioning the quality of a learning situation. The chapter has, in a sense, been simply an attempt to prove the point. The somewhat detailed examination of attitudes—of teachers, parents, and students—regarding teacher personality is intended to underscore something that may seem obvious but is nonetheless supremely vital. Students, in particular, when they cite such matters as grooming or voice, fairness, humor, or unselfishness are asking that those who choose to become teachers never forget these nonacademic essentials to successful teaching. They are asking, too, that the teacher care for himself in such a way as to be and remain a real person, not a representation of a stereotype. It should be noted that this discussion has not been designed with de emphasis of subject matter competence as a *corollary theme*. All the personality in the world cannot compensate for inadequate academic preparation, a number of the witnesses in the chapter testify to this. The effective teacher is a combination of both.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

BASIC QUESTION Draw up a list of those aspects or elements of human personality which you consider essential to successful teaching. How would you rate these in the order of their relative importance? What are your reasons for this particular order?

Again the evidence clearly speaks for itself. And the challenge that is implicit in these reports and in the responses of students and parents is equally distinct and vital. It is a challenge which must be met and taken up, as Laycock points out, by society itself. It is also a call to teachers in service, to candidates for the teaching profession, to schools of teacher education, and to colleges of liberal arts. This challenge is aptly, and beautifully, summed up by Robert Ulich when he notes that the universal educational problem is "how to find the teacher who combines impressive technical skill with the humanistic quality and methodical art of a good teacher." Surely, this "humanistic quality" and the "methodical art," and perhaps the "technical skill" as well, are matters integrally bound up with the personality of the teacher. The central theme of this chapter and its critical purport for our times seem handsomely to be presented as Ulich continues.¹⁴

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- 1 Is it true that Americans generally accord teachers little respect, that some are openly contemptuous of teachers as a group? Has this always been more or less the case in America? Is it so in other cultures? How do you account for this?
- 2 Is it true that the social prestige or status of teachers increases as the school 'ladder' is ascended, is the college professor generally held in higher regard than the first grade teacher? Why? Which job is more important?
- 3 As a taxpayer or parent, or more likely both, you will be called upon to pass judgment on the effectiveness of the teaching in your community. What criteria will you employ in making such a judgment? What does this suggest about the degree to which personality characteristics of teachers contribute to effective teaching? Illustrate your conclusions.
- 4 Compare the job of teaching with medicine, engineering, the ministry, business management, and acting. What elements of temperament essential to teaching either are not crucial to the others or are for them relatively unimportant?
- 5 How do you react to the items from Professor Brown's personal rating scale which appear on pages 334 and 335? Do you approve of all these measures? Would you insist on some others?
- 6 As one who is considering education as a possible career, where do you stand in relation to *your own conception* of the personality characteristics essential to teaching? Does such self analysis suggest any courses of action for the future?

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Teacher Preparation and Placement

The Development of Teacher Education in the United States

THE PROFESSIONAL PREPARATION of teachers is a relatively late development in the history of Western culture. With rare exceptions, it is not until the nineteenth century that there appears a genuine and wide spread concern as to the *professional* qualifications and background of teachers. While one finds much in the statements of a Plato, a Quintilian, a Locke, or a Rousseau about the conduct of education, one does not find these worthies paying extensive attention to the qualities and capacities of the teachers themselves. While one must acknowledge the vast debt owed to the medieval church for its educational endeavors, there is little in that history to demonstrate either a concern for or a contribution to the improvement of teaching itself. Down into our own time it has been generally assumed that good teaching stemmed entirely from knowledge of a subject, that he who really had command of his field could not but be an effective and efficient teacher. Only recently has it been held that a teacher's preparation must involve certain fundamental elements beyond the business of subject matter competence and that the qualifications for teaching must take these into account.

Teacher education as an organized, officially recognized, and publicly

supported enterprise began in the United States in the late 1830's. Significantly this beginning coincided with the great upsurge in general concern over the provision of universal education; the assumption by society of the responsibility for providing mass education necessarily carried with it a concomitant responsibility for ensuring the quality and ability of those to whom the charge was entrusted—the teachers. With the establishment of the first state normal school at Lexington, Massachusetts, in 1839, the American people began to demand that the teachers of their children meet professional standards and obtain professional training.

There were precedents for licensing teachers. Academic degrees from the medieval universities were considered, customarily, as licenses to teach at the university level. The early American colonists brought from the Old World traditions of examining prospective teachers as to their moral character, religious orthodoxy, and political stability in addition to their knowledge of Latin or Greek or Christian theology. The laws of colonial South Carolina in 1712 included the stipulation¹

That the person to be master of the said school [in Charleston] shall be of the religion of the Church of England, and conform to the same, and shall be capable to teach the learned languages, that is to say, Latin and Greek tongues, and to catechise and instruct the youth in the principles of the Christian religion, as professed in the Church of England

And in 1760, persons desirous of teaching in the colony of New Jersey were required to meet the following qualifications²

New York, November 5 On the 21st instant, His Excellency Thomas Boone, Esq, Governor of New Jersey, issued a proclamation setting forth that whereas the Education of Youth is a Matter of great Consequence, and ought not to be trusted but to Persons of good Character, and loyal Principles, and professed Protestants, therefore he requires all Magistrates to inform themselves sufficiently of the Character of the School Masters in the Province, to administer the Oaths to them, and give them, under the Hands of two, a Certificate of Approbation, by which they may obtain a License, and forbidding all Persons, after the

¹ Quoted in Edgar W. Knight and Clifton L. Hall *Readings in American Educational History* (New York: Appleton Century Crofts, 1951) p. 29

² *Ibid.* pp. 35-36

31st of December, to execute the Office of a Schoolmaster without such License first obtain'd

Teacher certification was also a major phase of the increased assumption of educational responsibility by the state. The state, urged to use its tax resources ever more extensively to promote public education, was rapidly forced to insist that certain standards be met as a condition of financial support. Certainly not the least of these standards were concerned with the caliber of the teachers themselves. From the inception of broad scale public responsibility for the provision of education there emerged a feeling of responsibility, too, for the professional as well as the moral-ethical qualifications of teachers.

Today all states have written into law specific sets of requirements which must be met by those desirous of teaching in the public schools. Obviously these requirements are vastly different from what they were in 1850 or 1890 or even in 1920. The course of the changes that have taken place is illustrative both of the impact of cultural forces upon the conduct of education, through the operation of a culturally conditioned educational philosophy, and of the apparent contemporary trend in the nature of the requirements. In the pre Civil War period new state requirements differed little from those which had previously been locally or privately administered, the emphasis continued to rest largely on morality, Christian piety, and knowledge of the basic subjects. As the scope of the public education system was broadened, the areas of subject matter competence multiplied. A candidate for teaching in 1890 would, or could, have been held for his knowledge in a much wider variety of areas than his predecessors of the 1850s. The turn of the century period, under the impact of the newly burgeoning science of psychology and its translations for education by such men as Herbart, de Garmo, Hall, and Dewey, saw a decided shift in the emphasis contained in American teacher education requirements. The shift was doubtless due also to the increasingly technological flavor and spirit of American life. Rather suddenly, certification began to stress study in such fields as pedagogy, history of education, educational psychology, educational measurement, and principles of child growth, areas unheard of in teacher education just a few decades

before This development, through the first quarter of the twentieth century, was carried to an extent which for many seemed to forebode an undesirable imbalance in teacher education curricula The multiplication of technical as opposed to subject matter requirements either in addition to or at the expense of the latter, became an acute source of concern Many were led to the conclusion that teacher education was in danger of becoming, if indeed it had not already become, a program predominantly methodological, with little or no concern for the ideas and information which were to be taught That this controversy is by no means at rest, current lay and professional literature clearly demonstrates The contemporary tendency seems rather markedly to be one of trying to arrive at a healthy and functional balance in the preparation of teachers as between subject matter knowledge and pedagogical competence There is evident increasing support for the thesis that a well qualified teacher requires both knowledge of subject and understanding of the various facets of the teaching learning process

Conant speaks of the "academic civil war" which has continued for several decades to plague college and university faculties He is referring to the deep seated and oftentimes highly emotional disagreement which obtains between the professors in the traditional disciplines—languages, history, literature, science, and the like—and the members of schools or departments of education In times past each group has insisted that it alone held the true keys to sound teaching, each has argued vehemently that most, if not all, the ills of modern education are the direct result of an overemphasis on the other's special concern The academician, the subject matter specialist, accused the professional educator of producing or encouraging an intellectual shallowness a lack of mental discipline, and sometimes a moral vacuum by his (the educator's) stress on methodology and psychology The educator, on the other hand, found the subject matter specialist unaware of, at least unable to adjust to, the individual differences present in his students The educator saw the academician as unable to adjust to the demands of a changing culture—an inability, the educator maintains, at least partially attributable to an inadequate background of training or ex-

perience in the science and method, the philosophy and psychology of education

Admitting that there is more than a shred of evidence to support both positions, we can nevertheless point hopefully to newly emerging patterns of teacher education as evidence that a resolution of this debate is in process. Both the legal requirements currently being enacted and the programs of teacher education being developed by colleges and universities testify to the growing acceptance of the academic and the pedagogical as integral and *interdependent* parts of the process. Throughout the country there is a growing demand that teachers be "generally educated," that teachers, especially in the elementary and secondary schools, come to their jobs with breadth of contact and experience rather than simply as narrowly trained experts in some field which is all too easily isolated from living relevance to human experience. The current tendencies in teacher education seem clearly to reflect demands that teachers know more and still more about children and youth, their needs, interests, desires, and capacities, and about the ways and means of teaching them most effectively. There is no doubt that many states are pointing a trend when in their requirements they specify that a teacher shall take *more* work in the field of his major interest than has been required heretofore.

This does not mean that the truce for which Conant calls has been signed by all parties nor to suggest that all problems have been solved. There are still many practices and policies in the teacher education process which cry out for basic reform if not outright elimination. There are still too few opportunities for one to learn his subject matter at the college level from one who is sympathetic to and familiar with the pedagogical problems of elementary and secondary schools. There are still too many programs of teacher education which prepare the candidate as if he were to retire from all social contact and community responsibility immediately upon stepping into his first classroom. Such programs fail to conceive of the school as fundamentally a social institution and of the teacher as basically a community agent. Nevertheless, a conjunction of the pedagogic and the academic seems to be developing, a healthier and more genuinely functional relationship than we have yet known.

Certification for Public School Teaching

The National Picture. There are many different credentials issued for a wide variety of positions in education. These include, in addition to straight teaching credentials, certificates in school administration, in counseling, in health and nursing, and in a number of other areas. We shall confine ourselves here to the provisions and requirements for elementary and secondary teaching credentials. These are the most common and the most basic in the sense of constituting (normally) the first steps toward various more specialized credentials and positions.

Two facts should be borne in mind as this survey is presented. In the first place, there are no official national standards whatever; the requirements for teacher certification are held to be exclusively the concern of the several states individually. This is not the place to consider the appropriateness or advisability of such nationally established and enforced standards. Many see grave weaknesses in the present heterogeneous character of certification requirements while others see in nationally imposed regulations serious threats to local and state educational independence. Second, it should be remembered that the requirements established in a state by law are actually administered by the teacher education institutions themselves—colleges, universities, teachers' colleges, normal schools. These schools are free to add to the state's requirements as they see fit in the attempt to build a better program of teacher education. Where a state, for example, legally requires three semester hours of directed teaching, the state university or some private institution may require six semester hours, and a student wishing to qualify through that institution for the credential may have to go far beyond the legal requirements. State requirements were originally intended to serve as minimum criteria for teaching, above and beyond which many schools would feel impelled to move. Occasionally, however, the legal requirements become overly extensive. When this happens, the state requirements tend to pre-empt so much of a student's school time as to become *maximum* prescriptions, limits beyond or outside of which it is impossible to go. It should be re-

membered that the requirements set by a state and those maintained by a college or university are not necessarily identical

We have reproduced several tables (see pages 352 to 357) which summarize the national scene with regard to teacher certification.³ As of the year 1955, for the lowest regular elementary teaching credential, collegiate graduation or the baccalaureate degree was required in twenty nine states. Nineteen states granted elementary teaching credentials to persons with less than a full college course. Two states required three years of college work, twelve required two years, four required one year, and one state allowed less than one year of college study. The requirement of professional education courses for the elementary credential varied from none to sixty semester hours and the amount of practice or directed teaching from none to twelve semester hours.

Requirements for secondary school teaching credentials show even greater variability. Most states, forty two in 1955, stipulate a four year course and a bachelor's degree as the basic prerequisite to a high school teaching credential. Three states and the District of Columbia require postbaccalaureate study while three specify less than a full college course. But the similarity in requirements goes no further. Nine hours of professional education are required in one state, while twenty four hours are specified for five, with half the states requiring eighteen to twenty semester hours. The number of semester hours of directed teaching required for a high school certificate varies from none in two states to ten in two states, a six hour requirement is the most popular.

It is still less possible to generalize as to the requirements in the several subject matter fields. In several states the completion of a collegiate major in a field or a specific subject satisfies the requirement. Others specify the number of units or semester hours which must be taken in the field of the major or minor subject. Iowa requires fifteen units of work in a given area to qualify to teach in that area at the high-school level. Ohio has requirements varying from forty five units

³ See W. Earl Armstrong and T. M. Stinnett, *A Manual on Certification Requirements for School Personnel in the United States 1955 Edition* (Washington D. C. National Education Association 1955).

down to fifteen units, depending on the subject. Many states issue "blanket" credentials, allowing the holders to teach in any field in which they have had a specified number of units of college work.

In a number of states, peculiar or unique requirements must be met. Such requirements can usually be fulfilled only in the colleges of the particular state, thus inhibiting the transfer of persons trained in other states. In each of six states, requirements of course work in the government or constitution, the history, and/or the school law of the state are specified. Certain states require of their teachers course work in such fields as conservation of natural resources, health education, or narcotics and alcohol education.

Sample Certification Requirements The following outlines of certification requirements are reproduced from Robert C. Woellner and M. Aurilla Wood, *Requirements for Certification of Teachers, Counselors, and Administrators for Elementary Schools, Secondary Schools, Junior Colleges*, 21st Ed., 1956-1957, (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1956).

ARKANSAS

*General requirements (after November 1, 1935) **

All certificates and permits issued in Arkansas require the following general education, with the provision of an allowable variation of not more than 6 semester hours from one specific requirement and not more than a total of 9 semester hours:

Humanities (including literature and some other aesthetic fields)	6
Communications	6
Social Sciences (including history)	12
Mathematics	3
Health and Physical Education	6

Elementary School

I 60 hour Elementary School Permit

- A Minimum of 60 semester hours from an approved college
- B General requirements as noted above
- C Specialized requirements (may count on general requirements)

* A maximum of 3 semester hours in each of these fields may be waived on appropriate examination.

Table 17 1. GENERAL REQUIREMENTS FOR TEACHING CERTIFICATES BY STATES

<i>State</i>	<i>U S Citi- zen- ship</i>	<i>Oath of alle- giance or loyalty</i>	<i>Must secure employ- ment</i>	<i>Recommen- dation from college or em- ploying officer</i>	<i>Mini- mum age re- quired</i>	<i>Fee re- quired for cer- tificate</i>	<i>Gen- eral health certif- icate re- quired</i>	<i>Chest X ray re- quired</i>	<i>Special course re- quired</i>
Ala	No	No	No	Yes	17	\$2 00	No	Yes	No
Alaska	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	18	2 50	Yes	No	Yes
Ariz	Yes	Yes	No	No	18	4 00	Yes	Yes	Yes
Ark	No	No	No	No	18	2 00	No	No	No
Calif	Yes	Yes	No	No	18	4 00	Yes	Yes	Yes ¹
Colo	No	Yes	No	Yes	18	4 00 5 00	No	No	No
Conn	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	18	None	Yes	No	No
Del	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	20	None	Yes	No	No
D C	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	None	None	Yes	Yes	No
Fla	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	20	3 00	Yes	No	No
Ga	No	No	No	Yes	18	1 00 ²	No	No	No
Hawan	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	None	None	Yes	Yes	No
Idaho	Yes ³	No	No	Yes	18	5 00	Yes	Yes	No
Ill	Yes	No	No	Yes	19	None	Yes	Yes	Yes ⁴
Ind	No	Yes	No	Yes	None	1 00	Yes	Yes	No
Iowa	No	No	No	Yes	18	2 00 5 00 ²	No	No	Yes ⁶
Kans	No	Yes	No	Yes	None	3 00	No	No	No
Ky	No	No	No	Yes	18	4 00	No	No	No
La	No	Yes	No	Yes	None	None	No	No	No
Maine	No	No	Yes ⁷	Yes	17	None	No	No	No
Md	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	None	None	Yes	No	No
Mass	Yes	Yes	No	No	None	None	Yes	No	No
Mich	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	18	None	No	No	No
Minn	No	No	No	Yes	None	1 00	Yes	No	No
Miss	Yes	No	No	Yes	18	None	Yes	No	No
Mo	No	No	No	No	None	None	Yes	No	No
Mont	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	18	2 00 ⁹	Yes	Yes	No
Neb	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	None	2 00	Yes	Yes	Yes ¹⁰
Nev	Yes	Yes	No	No	18	1 00 10 00	Yes	No	Yes
NH	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	None	None	No	No	No
N J	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	18	5 00	Yes	No	No
N M	Yes	No	No	No	18	1 00	No	No	No
N Y	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	18	3 00	No	No	No
N C	No	No	Yes ⁸	No	18	None	Yes	Yes	No
N D	Yes ³	Yes	No	Yes	18	2 00 5 00	No	No	No
Ohio	No	No	No	Yes	None	1 00	No	No	No
Okla	Yes ³	Yes	No	Yes	20	1 00 ¹¹	Yes	No	Yes ¹²
Ore	Yes	Yes	No	No	18	2 00	No	Yes	Yes ¹³
Penn	Yes	No	No	Yes	18	None	Yes	No	Yes ¹⁴
P R	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	18	None	Yes	Yes	Yes
R.I	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	19	None	Yes	No	Yes ¹⁵

Table 17-1. GENERAL REQUIREMENTS FOR TEACHING CERTIFICATES BY STATES (Continued)

State	U S Citi- zen ship	Oath of alle- giance or loyalty	Must secure employ- ment	Recommen- dation from college or em- ploying officer	Mini- mum age re- quired	Fee re- quired for cer- tificate	Gen- eral health certifi- cate re- quired	Chest X ray re- quired	Special course re- quired
S C.	Yes	No	No	Yes	18	None	Yes	Yes	No
S D.	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	18	2 00	No	No	No
Tenn	No	No	No	Yes	18	2 00	No	No	No
Tex	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	18	2 00 3 00	No	No	Yes ¹⁶
Utah	No	No	No	Yes	18	None	No	No	Yes ¹⁷
Vt	No	Yes	Yes ¹⁸	Yes	19	None	No	No	No
Va	No	No	Yes	Yes	18	None	No	No	No
Wash	Yes ³	Yes	No ¹⁹	Yes	18	1 00	No	Yes	Yes ²⁰
W.Va	No	No	No	Yes	18	1 00	No	No	No
Wis	No	No	No	Yes	None	2 00	No	No	Yes ²¹
Wyo	Yes ³	No	No	No	None	2 00	No	No	Yes ²²

¹ Constitution of U S and Audio Visual Education required for renewal of regular certificates

² Required of out of state applicants

³ Must be citizens or have taken out first papers

⁴ American History

⁵ Fee of \$5 for life certificates

⁶ Principles of American Government or American History

⁷ Required only of out of state, initial applicants

⁸ Out of state applicants are charged a fee of \$3 for investigating credentials

⁹ Fee of \$2 charged for regular certificates and \$1 for each year of validity

¹⁰ Health Education

¹¹ First certificate, no fee, other, \$1 00

¹² Oklahoma History and School Law

¹³ Oregon History and Oregon School Law

¹⁴ History of the United States

¹⁵ Rhode Island Education, may be completed within 3 years of initial teaching in the state

¹⁶ Texas Government

¹⁷ Health Education

¹⁸ Required of nonresidents

¹⁹ Employment required for out of state applicants

²⁰ School Law, Washington History, and Government

²¹ Cooperatives required of teachers of economics, social studies and agriculture Conservation required of teachers of science and social studies

²² United States and Wyoming Constitution, may be satisfied by credit course or passing an examination

Source W Earl Armstrong and T M Sunnett, *A Manual on Certification Requirements for School Personnel in the United States* (Washington, D C., National Education Association, 1955) Table VII 13

Table 172 MINIMUM REQUIREMENTS FOR LOWEST REGULAR TEACHING CERTIFICATES BY STATES

State	Elementary School			High School		
	Degree or number of semester hours required	Professional education required semester hours	Directed teaching required semester hours	Degree or number of semester hours required	Professional education required, semester hours	Directed teaching required, semester hours
Ala	B	30	3	B	24	3
Alaska	90	16	4	B	16	4
Ariz ⁹	B	18	6	5	18	6
Ark	60	12	3	60	12	3
Calif	B	24	8	5	22	6
Colo	60 ¹	20	4	B	20	4
Conn	B	AC	6	B	18	6
Del	B	30	6	B	18	6
D C.	B	40	6	5	24	6
Fla	B	20	6	B	20	6
Ga	B	18	6	B	18	6
Hawaii	B	18	C	B	18	C
Idaho	B	20	6	B	20	4
Ill	B	16	5	B	16	5
Ind	B	60	6	B	18	5
Iowa	63	22	5	B	20	5
Kans	60	6	0	B	18	3
Ky	B	28	8	B	18	8
La	B	24	4	B	18	4
Maine	96	AC	AC	B	12	None
Md	B	32	6	B	16	3
Mass	B ²	—	—	B	—	—
Mich	30	12	3	B	20	5
Minn	80 ³	18	6	B	18	4
Miss	60 ⁸	12	0	60 ³	9	0
Mo	32	5	0	B	18	5
Mont	64	30	10	B	16	3
Neb	0 ⁷	0	0	B	18	3
Nev	62	30	4	B	18	4
N H	B	AC	6	B	21	6
N J	B	30	6	B	18	6
N M	60	16	2	B	16	4
N Y	B	36	12	5	18	2
N C.	B	18	3	B	18	3
N D	32 ⁴	16	3	B	16	3
Ohio	B	28	6	B	17	6
Okla	110	12	0	110	24	0
Ore	B	20	4	B	12	4

Table 17-2 MINIMUM REQUIREMENTS FOR LOWEST REGULAR TEACHING CERTIFICATES BY STATES (Continued)

State	Elementary School			High School		
	Degree or number of semester hours required	Professional education required, semester hours	Directed teaching required semester hours	Degree or number of semester hours required	Professional education required, semester hours	Directed teaching required semester hours
Penn	B	30	6	B	12	6
P R.	67	30	6	B	21	5
R I	B	30	6	B	24	6
S C	B	21	6	B	18	6
S D.	30 ⁵	5	2	B	15	3
Tenn	B	24	4	B	24	4
Tex	B ⁰	24	6	B	24	6
Utah	B	30	8	B	22	10
Vt	B	30	6	B	18	6
Va	B	24	100 clock hours	B	18	100 clock hours
Wash	B ⁶	27	10	B ⁶	27	10
W Va	64	6	0	B	20	5
Wis	64	28	8	B	18	5
Wyo	60	20	4	B	20	4

Legend B means bachelor's degree of specified preparation, 5 (in Degree column) means bachelor's degree plus a fifth year of appropriate study, not necessarily a master's degree, AC means approved curriculum, C means a course

¹ Minimum requirement for out of state applicants is 90 semester hours

² Until September 1, 1956, completion of bachelor's degree or graduation from approved normal school

³ Minnesota has eight high school normal training departments which offer a one-year course, following high school graduation, qualifying students to teach in unaccredited elementary schools

⁴ Requirement for teaching in rural schools, for teaching in graded schools, 64 semester hours is minimum requirement

⁵ Requirement for teaching in rural schools For town schools minimum requirement is 60 semester hours

⁶ Provisional certificate only, five years required for standard certification Fifth year must be completed within five years after provisional certificate is issued

⁷ Teachers for elementary grades in rural schools are required to be graduates of normal training high school courses For all other elementary teachers a minimum of 15 semester hours is required

⁸ After December 1, 1956, minimum requirements will be completion of bachelor's degree

⁹ Effective September 1, 1955

Source *Ibid*, Table II, 2

Table 17-3 SPECIFIC MINIMUM REQUIREMENTS FOR ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY CERTIFICATES BASED ON DEGREES

State	Elementary School				High School			
	Degree or college years of preparation	General education	Professional education	Directed teaching	Degree or college years of preparation	General education	Professional education	Directed teaching
Ala	B	50	30	3	B	30	24	3
Alaska	B	16	—	4	B	16	—	4
Ariz	B	—	18	6	5	—	18	6
Ark	B	48	18	5	B	48	18	5
Calif	B	—	24	8	5	40	22	6
Colo	B	—	20	4	B	—	20	4
Conn	B	75	30	6	B	45	18	6
Del	B	—	30	6	B	—	18	6
D C	B	—	40	6	5	30	24	6
Fla	B	45	20	6	B	45	20	6
Ga	B	40	18	6	B	40	18	6
Hawaii	B	—	18	AC	B	—	18	AC
Idaho	B	42	20	6	B	—	20	4
Ill	B	73	16	5	B	35	16	5
Ind	B	60	23	6	B ¹	30	18	5
Iowa	B	—	20	5	B	—	20	5
Kans	B	45	24	3	B	45	18	3
Ky	B	69	28	8	B	45	18	8
La	B	46	24	4	B	46	18	4
Maine	B	AC	AC	AC	B	40	18	0
Md	B	—	32	6	B	—	16	3
Mass ¹	B	None	None	None	B	None	None	None
Mich	B	—	20	5	B	—	20	5
Minn	B	—	30	6	B	—	18	4
Miss	B	48	24	6	B	48	18	6
Mo	B	44	18	5	B	25	18	5
Mont	I	40	40	12	B	—	16	3
Neb	B	—	18	3	B	—	18	3
Nev	B	—	18	4	B	—	18	4
N H	B	—	AC	6	B	—	21	6
N J	B	30	30	6	B	—	18	6
N M	B	32	12	4	B	6	10	4
N. Y.	B	60	36	12	B	18	18	2

Table 17-3 SPECIFIC MINIMUM REQUIREMENTS FOR ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY CERTIFICATES BASED ON DEGREES
(Continued)

State	Elementary School				High School			
	Degree or college years of preparation	General education	Professional education	Directed teaching	Degree or college years of preparation	General education	Professional education	Directed teaching
N C	B	— ²	18	3	B	—	18	3
N D	B	—	16	3	B	—	16	6
Ohio	B	60	28	6	B	30	17	5
Okla	B	40	12	0	B	40	12	10
Ore	B ³	—	20	4	B	—	24	4
Penn	B	—	30	6	B	—	12	6
P R	B	16	20	6	B	—	21	5
R I	B	—	30	6	B	—	24	6
S C	B	45	21	6	B	45	18	6
S D	NC	NC	NC	NC	B	—	NC	3
Tenn	B	40	24	4	B	40	24	4
Tex	B	45	24	6	B	45	24	6
Utah	B	48	30	8	B	48	22	8
Vt	B	None	30	6	B	—	18	6
Va	B	36	24	100 clock hrs	B	36	18	100 clock hrs
Wash	B ³	40	27	10	B ²	40	27	10
W Va	B	36	20	5	B	36	20	5
Wis	B	—	28	8	B	—	18	5
Wyo	B	27	20	4	B	27	20	4

Legend blank indicates no specifications B means completion of the bachelor's degree, 5 (in Degree column) means bachelor's degree and 30 semester hours of post baccalaureate study NC means no certificate AC means approved curriculum

Elementary ¹ State Board of Education has deferred requirements for professional courses until September 1, 1956

² No specifications of general education as such but 34 semester hours of academic credit are required

³ For provisional certificate Five years required for standard certificate

Secondary ¹ Master's degree required for permanent certificate

² For provisional certificate Five years required for standard certificate

Source *Ibid* Tables VIII and IX 14 15

Table 173 SPECIFIC MINIMUM REQUIREMENTS FOR ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY CERTIFICATES BASED ON DEGREES

State	Elementary School				High School			
	Degree or college years of preparation	General education	Professional education	Districted teaching	Degree or college years of preparation	General education	Professional education	Districted teaching
Ala	B	50	30	3	B	30	24	3
Alaska	B	16	—	4	B	16	—	4
Ariz	B	—	18	6	5	—	18	6
Ark	B	48	18	5	B	48	18	5
Calif	B	—	24	8	5	40	22	6
Colo	B	—	20	4	B	—	20	4
Conn	B	75	30	6	B	45	18	6
Del	B	—	30	6	B	—	18	6
D C	B	—	40	6	5	30	24	6
Fla	B	45	20	6	B	45	20	6
Ga	B	40	18	6	B	40	18	6
Hawaii	B	—	18	AC	B	—	18	AC
Idaho	B	42	20	6	B	—	20	4
Ill	B	73	16	5	B	35	16	5
Ind	B	60	23	6	B ¹	30	18	5
Iowa	B	—	20	5	B	—	20	5
Kans	B	45	24	3	B	45	18	3
Ky	B	69	28	8	B	45	18	8
La	B	46	24	4	B	46	18	4
Maine	B	AC	AC	AC	B	40	18	0
Md	B	—	32	6	B	—	16	3
Mass ¹	B	None	None	None	B	None	None	None
Mich	B	—	20	5	B	—	20	5
Minn	B	—	30	6	B	—	18	4
Miss	B	48	24	6	B	48	18	6
Mo	B	44	18	5	B	25	18	5
Mont	B	40	40	12	B	—	16	3
Neb	B	—	18	3	B	—	18	3
Nev	B	—	18	4	B	—	18	4
N H	B	—	AC	6	B	—	21	6
N J	B	30	30	6	B	—	18	6
N M	B	32	12	4	B	6	10	4
N Y	B	60	36	12	B	18	18	2

Table 17-3. SPECIFIC MINIMUM REQUIREMENTS FOR ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY CERTIFICATES BASED ON DEGREES
(Continued)

State	Elementary School				High School			
	Degree or college years of preparation	General education	Professional education	Directed teaching	Degree or college years of preparation	General education	Professional education	Directed teaching
N C	B	— ²	18	3	B	—	18	3
N D	B	—	16	3	B	—	16	6
Ohio	B	60	28	6	B	30	17	5
Okla	B	40	12	0	B	40	12	10
Ore	B ³	—	20	4	B	—	24	4
Penn	B	—	30	6	B	—	12	6
P. R.	B	16	20	6	B	—	21	5
R. I	B	—	30	6	B	—	24	6
S. C	B	45	21	6	B	45	18	6
S. D	NC	NC	NC	NC	B	—	NC	3
Tenn	B	40	24	4	B	40	24	4
Tex	B	45	24	6	B	45	24	6
Utah	B	48	30	8	B	48	22	8
Vt	B	None	30	6	B	—	18	6
Va	B	36	24	100 clock hrs	B	36	18	100 clock hrs
Wash	B ³	40	27	10	B ²	40	27	10
W Va	B	36	20	5	B	36	20	5
Wis	B	—	28	8	B	—	18	5
Wyo	B	27	20	4	B	27	20	4

Legend blank indicates no specifications, B means completion of the bachelor's degree; 5 (in Degree column) means bachelor's degree and 30 semester hours of post baccalaureate study, NC means no certificate, AC means approved curriculum

Elementary ¹ State Board of Education has deferred requirements for professional courses until September 1, 1956

² No specifications of general education as such but 34 semester hours of academic credit are required

³ For provisional certificate Five years required for standard certificate

Secondary ¹ Master's degree required for permanent certificate

² For provisional certificate Five years required for standard certificate

Source *Ibid*, Tables VIII and IX, 14 15

Table 17-4. MINIMUM SEMESTER HOUR REQUIREMENTS BY STATES FOR ENDORSEMENT OR AUTHORIZATION TO TEACH A HIGH SCHOOL ACADEMIC FIELD

State	English	Foreign language	Mathematics	Science	Physical science	Biological science	General science	Social science
Ala	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18
Alaska	Blanket certificate for all fields.							
Ariz	15	15	15	15	—	—	—	15
Ark	24	18	15	24	—	—	18	20
Calif ¹	Blanket certificate for all fields.							
Colo	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12
Conn ²	30	18	18	NR	18	18	21	30
Del	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	24
D C	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30
Fla	30	18	15	32	15	15	12	30
Ga	30	27	20	34	—	—	—	34
Hawaii	36	24	14	32	32	32	32	36
Idaho	15	15	15	—	15	15	15	15
Ill ¹	36	36	36	36	36	36	36	36
Ind	24	18	—	24	24	24	24	24
Iowa ¹	15	15	15	15 ⁴	— ³	— ³	— ³	15
Kans ¹	24	24	15	24 ⁴	24 ⁴	24 ⁴	24 ⁴	24
Ky ⁵	Major in field for all subjects							
La	24	24	18	24 ⁶	12	12	18	24
Maine ¹	12	12	8	12	12	12	—	12
Md	24	18	18	27	—	18	—	24
Mass ¹	No requirements established							
Mch	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15
Minn	15	15	15	15 ⁷	—	—	—	15
Mass ¹	24	18	18	24	12	12	12	24
Mo	24 ⁸	20	15	24	15	15	15	24
Neb ¹	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15
Nev	Blanket certificate for all fields							
N H	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18
N J	18	18	18	30	18	18	18	30
N M ¹	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
N Y	18	18	15	30	18	18	30	30
N C	30	24	21	30	—	—	24	30
N D ¹	15	15	15	15	15	15	8	15
Ohio	24	20	18	45	21	15	15	45
Okl	16	16	16	16	16 ⁹	16 ⁹	16	16 ¹⁰
Ore ¹	28	20	12	16	12	12	16	28
Penn	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18
P. R. ¹	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30
R. I	15	15	15	30	15	15	15	30
S. C.	24	24	24	30	12	12	18	30 ¹¹
S. D	24	15	15	15	12 ¹²	15 ¹³	15	15 ¹⁹
Tenn	30	24	18	32 ¹⁴	32 ¹⁴	32 ¹⁴	32 ¹⁴	36 ¹⁵

Table 17-4. MINIMUM SEMESTER HOUR REQUIREMENTS BY STATES FOR ENDORSEMENT OR AUTHORIZATION TO TEACH A HIGH-SCHOOL ACADEMIC FIELD (Continued)

State	English	Foreign language	Mathematics	Science	Physical science	Biological science	General science	Social science
Utah ¹	12	12 ¹⁶	12	12 ¹⁶	12 ¹⁶	12 ¹⁶	12	12 ¹⁶
Vt. ¹	Blanket	certificate	for all fields	—	12 ¹⁷	12 ¹⁷	18	24 ¹⁸
Va.	18	18	12	—	—	—	—	—
Wash. ¹	Blanket	certificate	for all fields	—	24	24	—	24
W. Va.	24	24	18	—	15	15	15	24
Wis.	15	15	15	—	15	15	15	15
Wyo.	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15

¹ High school certificate is of blanket type for academic fields, authorized teaching fields not endorsed on certificate

² Preparing institution required to recommend candidate for each endorsement

³ A minimum of 10 semester hours in the field of science with a course in each separate science taught is required

⁴ Requirement for broad field of science to teach a given science subject is 6 semester hours

⁵ Endorsement requirement for high school teaching fields is completion of a major of 24 30 semester hours or a minor of 18 semester hours. Authorization to teach a given subject, not in a major field, granted on completion of 12 semester hours

⁶ Includes 6 semester hours in each of biology, chemistry, and physics, and 6 semester hours in the particular science

⁷ Including a course in each science taught

⁸ On 15 hours and 2 high school units

⁹ With credit in physical and biological science

¹⁰ For teaching specific subject in field, 6 semester hours are required

¹¹ Requirements for teaching specific subject are history, 18 economics, geography, sociology, 12

¹² At least 8 hours in subject taught

¹³ Minimum of 3 semester hours in each of zoology and botany

¹⁴ Authorization to teach a subject within field requires 16 semester hours

¹⁵ For subjects in field requirements are history, 18, economics, geography, sociology, and government, 12

¹⁶ Required for a single subject. A composite in any one of these fields requires a minimum of 40 semester hours

¹⁷ A given field is not endorsed. For teaching a given subject, 12 semester hours requirement.

¹⁸ Social studies including history. For social studies without history, 18. For history alone, 18, economics, 12, journalism, 12, public speaking, 12

¹⁹ With at least 5 in subject taught, unless subject is American History, then minimum requirement is 8 hours

[Author's note—Montana and Texas omitted from original table]

Source: *Ibid.*, Table X, 16

Table 17-4 MINIMUM SEMESTER HOUR REQUIREMENTS BY STATES FOR ENDORSEMENT OR AUTHORIZATION TO TEACH A HIGH SCHOOL ACADEMIC FIELD

State	English	Foreign language	Mathematics	Science	Physical science	Biological science	General science	Social science
Ala	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18
Alaska	Blanket certificate for all fields							
Ariz	15	15	15	15	—	—	—	15
Ark	24	18	15	24	—	—	18	20
Calif ¹	Blanket certificate for all fields							
Colo	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12
Conn ²	30	18	18	NR	18	18	21	30
Del	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	24
D C	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30
Fla	30	18	15	32	15	15	12	30
Ga	30	27	20	34	—	—	—	34
Hawaii	36	24	14	32	32	32	32	36
Idaho	15	15	15	—	15	15	15	15
Ill ¹	36	36	36	36	36	36	36	36
Ind	24	18	—	24	24	24	24	24
Iowa ¹	15	15	15	15 ⁴	— ³	— ³	— ³	15
Kans ¹	24	24	15	24 ⁴	24 ⁴	24 ⁴	24 ⁴	24
Ky ⁵	Major in field for all subjects							
La	24	24	18	24 ⁶	12	12	18	24
Maine ¹	12	12	8	12	12	12	—	12
Md	24	18	18	27	—	18	—	24
Mass ¹	No requirements established							
Mch	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15
Minn	15	15	15	15 ⁷	—	—	—	15
Miss ¹	24	18	18	24	12	12	12	24
Mo	24 ⁸	20	15	24	15	15	15	24
Neb ¹	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15
Nev	Blanket certificate for all fields							
N H	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18
N J	18	18	18	30	18	18	18	30
N M ¹	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
N Y	18	18	15	30	18	18	30	30
N C	30	24	21	30	—	—	24	30
N D ¹	15	15	15	15	15	15	8	15
Ohio	24	20	18	45	21	15	15	45
Okl	16	16	16	16	16 ⁹	16 ⁹	16	16 ¹⁰
Ore ¹	28	20	12	16	12	12	16	28
Penn	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18
P R ¹	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30
R I	15	15	15	30	15	15	15	30
S C	24	24	24	30	12	12	18	30 ¹¹
S D	24	15	15	15	12 ¹²	15 ¹³	15	15 ¹⁹
Tenn	30	24	18	32 ¹⁴	32 ¹⁴	32 ¹⁴	32 ¹⁴	36 ¹⁵

Table 174. MINIMUM SEMESTER HOUR REQUIREMENTS BY STATES FOR ENDORSEMENT OR AUTHORIZATION TO TEACH A HIGH-SCHOOL ACADEMIC FIELD (Continued)

State	English	Foreign language	Mathematics	Science	Physical science	Biological science	General science	Social science
Utah ¹	12	12 ¹⁰	12	12 ¹⁰	12 ¹⁰	12 ¹⁰	12	12 ¹⁰
Vt. ¹	Blanket certificate for all fields							
Va.	18	18	12	—	12 ¹⁷	12 ¹⁷	18	24 ¹⁸
Wash. ¹	Blanket certificate for all fields							
W. Va.	24	24	18	—	24	24	—	24
Wis.	15	15	15	—	15	15	15	24
Wyo.	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15

¹ High school certificate is of blanket type for academic fields, authorized teaching fields not endorsed on certificate

² Preparing institution required to recommend candidate for each endorsement

³ A minimum of 10 semester hours in the field of science with a course in each separate science taught is required

⁴ Requirement for broad field of science to teach a given science subject is 6 semester hours

⁵ Endorsement requirement for high school teaching fields is completion of a major of 24-30 semester hours or a minor of 18 semester hours. Authorization to teach a given subject, not in a major field, granted on completion of 12 semester hours

⁶ Includes 6 semester hours in each of biology, chemistry, and physics, and 6 semester hours in the particular science

⁷ Including a course in each science taught

⁸ On 15 hours and 2 high school units

⁹ With credit in physical and biological science

¹⁰ For teaching specific subject in field, 6 semester hours are required

¹¹ Requirements for teaching specific subject are history, 18, economics, geography, sociology, 12

¹² At least 8 hours in subject taught

¹³ Minimum of 3 semester hours in each of zoology and botany

¹⁴ Authorization to teach a subject within field requires 16 semester hours

¹⁵ For subjects in field, requirements are history, 18, economics, geography, sociology, and government, 12

¹⁶ Required for a single subject. A composite in any one of these fields requires a minimum of 40 semester hours

¹⁷ A given field is not endorsed. For teaching a given subject, 12 semester hours requirement.

¹⁸ Social studies including history. For social studies without history, 18. For history alone, 18, economics, 12, journalism, 12, public speaking, 12

¹⁹ With at least 5 in subject taught, unless subject is American History, then minimum requirement is 8 hours

[Author's note—Montana and Texas omitted from original table]

Source: *Ibid.*, Table X, 16

		Semester hours	
	1 Public School Art	4	
	2 Public School Music	4	
	3 Children's Literature	3	
	4 Geography	3	
D	Professional requirements		
		Semester hours	
	1 Study about the school	3	
	2 Study about children and learning	3	
	3 Study about teaching	3	
	4 Professional laboratory experience	3	
II	90 hour Elementary School Permit		
	A Minimum of 90 semester hours from an approved college		
	B See I B		
	C See I C		
	D See I D—but semester hours		15
III	Elementary School Certificate		
	A Graduation from an approved four year college		
	B General requirements as noted above with requirement that at least 48 semester hours including these fields may be submitted apart from professional courses		
	C Specialized requirements (may count on general requirements)—		
		Semester hours	
	1 Public School Art	4	
	2 Public School Music	4	
	3 Children's Literature	3	
	4 Geography	3	
	5 American History and/or Government	6	
	6 Concentration in own field (may include general education)	18	
D	Professional requirements		18
	1 Study about the school	3	
	2 Study about children and learning	3	
	3 Study about teaching	6	
	4 Professional laboratory experience (including student teaching)	5	

High School

- I 60 hour High School Permit
 - A Minimum of 60 semester hours from an approved college
 - B General requirements as noted above
 - C Specialized requirements in semester hours (one must be submitted) English, 15, Foreign Language 12 Mathematics, 6, Physical Education, 15, Music, 16, Science, 16 Social Studies, 14
 - D Professional requirement—see Elementary I D
- II 90 hour School Permit
 - A Minimum of 90 semester hours from an approved college
 - B General requirements as noted above
 - C Specialized requirements in semester hours (one must be submitted) English, 18, Foreign Language 15, Mathematics, 9, Physical Education, 18, Music, 18, Science, 16 Social Studies, 18, Commercial, 20, Industrial Arts 20
 - D Professional requirements—see Elementary II D
- III High School Certificate
 - A Graduation from an approved college
 - B General requirements as noted above, with requirement that at least 48 semester hours must be submitted apart from major and professional credit
 - C Specialized requirements in semester hours (one must be submitted) Agriculture 76 (some of which may be counted towards general requirements), Commercial 27, English 24, Mathematics 15, Physical Education, 25, Science, 24 Music 24, Social Science, 20 Foreign Language, 18, Distributive Education, 24, Home Economics, 68 (some of which may be counted towards professional requirements), Industrial Arts 48 (some of which may be counted towards professional requirements) Librarianship 15 Speech, 18, Vocational Counseling, 15 (9 of which must be graduate credit)
 - D Professional requirements

	18
1 Study about the school	3
2 Study about children and learning	3
3 Study about teaching	3
4 Professional laboratory experience (including student teaching)	5

Semester hours

1. Public School Art ..	4
2. Public School Music ..	4
3. Children's Literature ..	3
4. Geography ..	3

D. Professional requirements

Semester hours

1. Study about the school ..	3
2. Study about children and learning ..	3
3. Study about teaching ..	3
4. Professional laboratory experience ..	3

II. 90 hour Elementary School Permit

A Minimum of 90 semester hours from an approved college.

B See I B

C. See I-C

D. See I D—but semester hours 15

III. Elementary School Certificate

A Graduation from an approved four-year college

B. General requirements, as noted above, with requirement that at least 48 semester hours, including these fields, may be submitted apart from professional courses

C. Specialized requirements (may count on general requirements)—

Semester hours

1. Public School Art	4
2. Public School Music	4
3. Children's Literature	3
4. Geography	3
5. American History and/or Government	6
6 Concentration in own field (may include general education)	18

D. Professional requirements 18

1. Study about the school ..	3
2 Study about children and learning ..	3
3 Study about teaching	6
4. Professional laboratory experience (including student teaching)	5

High School

I 60 hour High School Permit

- A Minimum of 60 semester hours from an approved college
- B General requirements as noted above
- C. Specialized requirements in semester hours (one must be submitted) English 15 Foreign Language 12 Mathematics, 6 Physical Education 15, Music, 16, Science 16 Social Studies, 14
- D Professional requirement—see Elementary I D

II 90 hour School Permit

- A Minimum of 90 semester hours from an approved college
- B General requirements as noted above
- C Specialized requirements in semester hours (one must be submitted) English, 18, Foreign Language 15 Mathematics, 9, Physical Education, 18, Music, 18 Science 16 Social Studies, 18, Commercial, 20 Industrial Arts 20
- D Professional requirements—see Elementary II D

III High School Certificate

- A Graduation from an approved college
- B General requirements as noted above, with requirement that at least 48 semester hours must be submitted apart from major and professional credit
- C Specialized requirements in semester hours (one must be submitted) Agriculture 76 (some of which may be counted towards general requirements), Commercial 27, English 24 Mathematics 15 Physical Education 25, Science, 24 Music 24 Social Science 20, Foreign Language, 18 Distributive Education 24, Home Economics 68 (some of which may be counted towards professional requirements), Industrial Arts 48 (some of which may be counted towards professional requirements) Librarianship 15 Speech 18, Vocational Counseling 15 (9 of which must be graduate credit)

D Professional requirements

18

- 1 Study about the school 3
- 2 Study about children and learning 3
- 3 Study about teaching 3
- 4 Professional laboratory experience (including student teaching) 5

CALIFORNIA

General Elementary Credential

- I. A four year college course with a bachelor's degree.
- II A minimum of twenty four semester hours of professional work in education, affording adequate preparation for teaching the statutory elementary school subjects and the subjects in which the applicant is required by law to be proficient⁴ This work shall include
 - A Eight semester hours of elementary education courses, including
 - 1 Four semester hours of general elementary school methods or methods of teaching basic elementary school subjects
 - 2 Two semester hours in principles of elementary education or elementary school curriculum
 - 3 Two semester hours of child psychology or child growth and development
 - B Eight semester hours of directed teaching At least one half of this requirement shall be completed on the elementary level Successful teaching experience on the elementary level in public schools or private schools of equivalent status may be substituted for directed teaching at the rate of one year of full time teaching for one half of the requirement.
 - C. Other appropriate professional courses in education.
- III An applicant who holds a regular general secondary credential may be granted a regular general elementary credential for a one year period upon the completion of six semester hours in a course or courses, in methods of teaching basic elementary school subjects curriculum and directed teaching
- IV. The completion of a two semester hour course or the passing of an examination on the provisions and principles of the Constitution of the United States This provision may be met by either
 - (1) completing a course in any recognized college or university from which undergraduate credits are accepted by the State Board of Education, or
 - (2) passing an examination given by a California junior college, college, or university

Authorization for service The general elementary credential authorizes

⁴ See p. 266

the holder to serve as a teacher in any elementary school and in grades seven and eight of any junior high school

General Secondary Credential

- I. A four year college course with a bachelor's degree
- II. One year of thirty semester hours of postgraduate work or upper division or graduate level or a year of postgraduate preparation which an accredited institution certifies as fulfilling institutional requirements for a postgraduate year of work This work shall include
 - A Six semester hours in professional education courses
 - B Six semester hours in subject fields commonly taught in junior and senior high schools

This postgraduate work shall be completed following admission to graduate standing, in an institution or institutions accepted by the California State Department of Education to offer graduate work

- III Forty semester hours of general education with a minimum of six semester hours in each of the following four areas
 - A Science and mathematics
 - B The practical arts and the fine arts such as art, music, homemaking, health education, physical education, industrial arts, and similar fields
 - C Social studies
 - D The communicative arts such as languages, literature, speech arts, and similar fields

Courses offered in fulfillment of the general education requirement may also be applied toward the fulfillment of major and minor requirements, provided the courses are within the same subject field as the major and minor

- IV Twenty two semester hours of professional work in education including the following areas
 - A The scope and function of the secondary school
 - B Growth and development, the learning process, mental hygiene or personality development
 - C Counseling and guidance
 - D Curriculum, methods, evaluation of instruction at the secondary level
 - E Six semester hours of directed teaching At least one half of this requirement shall be completed by teaching any grade from seven through twelve Successful teaching experience in public schools

CALIFORNIA

General Elementary Credential

- I. A four-year college course with a bachelor's degree.
- II. A minimum of twenty-four semester hours of professional work in education, affording adequate preparation for teaching the statutory elementary school subjects and the subjects in which the applicant is required by law to be proficient.⁴ This work shall include:
 - A. Eight semester hours of elementary education courses, including:
 1. Four semester hours of general elementary school methods or methods of teaching basic elementary school subjects.
 2. Two semester hours in principles of elementary education or elementary school curriculum.
 3. Two semester hours of child psychology or child growth and development.
 - B. Eight semester hours of directed teaching. At least one half of this requirement shall be completed on the elementary level. Successful teaching experience on the elementary level in public schools or private schools of equivalent status may be substituted for directed teaching at the rate of one year of full-time teaching for one half of the requirement.
 - C. Other appropriate professional courses in education.
- III. An applicant who holds a regular general secondary credential may be granted a regular general elementary credential for a one-year period upon the completion of six semester hours in a course, or courses, in methods of teaching basic elementary school subjects, curriculum and directed teaching.
- IV. The completion of a two semester hour course or the passing of an examination on the provisions and principles of the Constitution of the United States. This provision may be met by either:
 - (1) completing a course in any recognized college or university from which undergraduate credits are accepted by the State Board of Education, or
 - (2) passing an examination given by a California junior college, college, or university.

Authorization for service. The general elementary credential authorizes

⁴ See p. 266.

the holder to serve as a teacher in any elementary school and in grades seven and eight of any junior high school

General Secondary Credential

- I A four year college course with a bachelor's degree
- II One year of thirty semester hours of postgraduate work or upper division or graduate level or a year of postgraduate preparation which an accredited institution certifies as fulfilling institutional requirements for a postgraduate year of work. This work shall include
 - A Six semester hours in professional education courses
 - B Six semester hours in subject fields commonly taught in junior and senior high schools

This postgraduate work shall be completed following admission to graduate standing in an institution or institutions accepted by the California State Department of Education to offer graduate work

- III Forty semester hours of general education with a minimum of six semester hours in each of the following four areas
 - A Science and mathematics
 - B The practical arts and the fine arts such as art music homemaking health education, physical education industrial arts and similar fields
 - C Social studies
 - D The communicative arts such as languages literature speech arts and similar fields

Courses offered in fulfillment of the general education requirement may also be applied toward the fulfillment of major and minor requirements provided the courses are within the same subject field as the major and minor

- IV Twenty two semester hours of professional work in education including the following areas
 - A The scope and function of the secondary school
 - B Growth and development the learning process mental hygiene or personality development
 - C Counseling and guidance
 - D Curriculum methods evaluation of instruction at the secondary level
 - E Six semester hours of directed teaching At least one half of this requirement shall be completed by teaching any grade from seven through twelve Successful teaching experience in public schools

or in private schools of equivalent status may be substituted for directed teaching at the rate of one year of full time teaching for one half of the requirement

V One major and one minor in teaching fields commonly taught in California senior or four year high schools, except as provided in Section (7), or a major in a field not commonly taught and two minors in acceptable teaching fields. The minimum requirement for a major shall be thirty six semester hours except as provided in Section (10) (Twelve semester hours of the work for the major shall be upper division or graduate work.) The minimum requirement for a minor shall be twenty semester hours. Majors and minors in teaching fields shall be selected from the subject fields listed below except that additional majors and minors may be added by the Commission of Credentials

- (1) *Social studies* United States history, three fields selected from geography, political science, economics, sociology, anthropology, and additional preparation in one or more of the social studies to complete the major
- (2) *Life sciences and general science* Life science or biology, physics and chemistry or general physical science, and additional preparation in one or more of the life sciences to complete the major
- (3) *Physical science and general science* Physics and chemistry or general physical science life science or biology, and additional preparation in one or more of the physical sciences to complete the major
- (4) *English* Composition and literature, speech, dramatics or journalism, and additional preparation in composition and literature to complete the major
- (5) *Speech* Composition and literature, speech, dramatics or journalism, and additional preparation in speech arts to complete the major
- (6) *Language arts* Composition and literature, speech, dramatics, motion picture or radio, journalism, and additional preparation in one or more of these subjects to complete the major
- (7) *Foreign language* Latin or a modern foreign language including reading and, with the exception of Latin, speaking the language, and additional preparation in the same foreign language to complete the major. A minor may be completed in Latin or a modern foreign language.

- (8) *Mathematics* Basic or theoretical mathematics through integral calculus, and additional preparation in either basic or theoretical mathematics, or in courses dealing with mathematical applications to complete the major
- (9) *Health education* Personal health, school health, community health, and additional preparation in three fields selected from mental health, family life education, nutrition, safety education, human biology, and occupational hygiene to complete the major
- (10) *Special fields* The major requirements for the general secondary credential in the special fields of agriculture, art, business education, physical education, homemaking, industrial arts, librarianship, music and speech arts are the same as the requirements for special secondary credentials in these fields

The holder of a valid special secondary credential is considered as meeting the requirements for a major in that field for the general secondary credential

- VI The completion of a two-semester hour course or the passing of an examination on the provisions and principles of the Constitution of the United States This provision may be met by either
 - (1) completing a course in any recognized college or university from which undergraduate credits are accepted by the State Board of Education, or
 - (2) passing an examination given by a California junior college, college, or university

NEW YORK

(EXCLUSIVE OF BUFFALO AND NEW YORK CITY) *

Elementary School

Permanent Certificate

- I Bachelor's degree (approved four year curriculum for elementary school teachers) or equivalent
- II Professional requirements—in semester hours 36
 - A Observation and Supervised Teaching in elementary schools, including conferences on teaching problems 12 15
 - B Elementary School Methods and Materials 8 12

* Where special local licenses are required

- IV. Special requirements for the special subjects such as Agriculture, Art, Business Education, Health and Physical Education, Home Economics, Industrial Arts, Library Science, Music, etc

This sampling of credential requirements should serve to illustrate several of the features of contemporary teacher education. It is evident that the courses in methods and directed teaching have established themselves as central ingredients in the credential program. It is also clear that courses in the several subject matter fields have not been sharply curtailed, as some critics maintain, but have been expanded. General education is receiving increasing emphasis. It cannot be denied, however, that the danger of excessive prescription of the teacher education program is here vividly demonstrated. The teaching credential has become something of a battleground between the pedagogical and the academic departments. Increased requirements in one area must be met with increases in the other. Thus, for example, elaborate requirements are instituted in the specifics of pedagogical techniques (e.g., audio visual aids) and in academic teaching majors, too often for competitive rather than sound professional reasons.

Programs of teacher education are in serious need of redesign and redirection. Not only are specific requirements tending to multiply unreasonably. Too often these requirements tend to be out of balance and to omit areas vital to professional success. In addition to the obvious need for developing subject matter competency and technical expertness, a sound teacher education program must give emphasis to two other vital considerations. In the first place, the teacher candidate must be balanced in his background. His collegiate experience must allow for contact with the arts, the humanities, and the sciences, just as the modern school will expect him to integrate his teaching, no matter what the field may be. Balance requires the opportunity to explore, to discover, to savor, and to discriminate. This means that certification requirements must be designed with breadth and flexibility in mind. Second, the fully qualified teacher must have some understanding of what are coming to be called the foundations of education. There is a marked tendency in some quarters to assume that the professional preparation of teachers involves only the study of ped-

agogical methods, materials of instruction, and a period of apprenticeship or interneship. These are certainly essential. But one can operate effectively as teacher and as public servant only with a thorough understanding of the relationship of education to the total culture. The foundations, then, are those areas which attempt to provide that perspective: they include such areas as the history and philosophy of education, the psychological principles which must govern teaching and learning, and the sociopolitical context in which the schools operate. Theory and practice must work hand in hand.

Postcredential Education

A teacher's education certainly should not stop with the awarding of the certificate. There is far too much at stake for the teacher ever to consider himself fully educated. Many states and local school districts have introduced into their certification and contractual procedures attempts to ensure the continuance of a teacher's professional growth. Frequently the lowest credential is definitely conceived as both minimal and temporary. No teacher in those states can obtain long term certification, hence tenure, until he has qualified for the more professional higher credentials. Several states today, faced with gaping teacher shortages, have been forced to grant emergency credentials, licenses to teach to persons who do not meet the states minimum qualifications. The emergency credentials are generally applicable only to one school district and for a short period of time: they allow for neither transfer nor permanence of employment. Normally, a teacher must go beyond the minimum credential requirements in order to achieve a sound professional and economic status. And to move from teaching into various school specialties, guidance, for example, or school administration, states and local communities demand that additional professional preparation be obtained.

Beyond this many local school systems have established salary programs which are based largely upon educational qualifications. Under schemes of this sort teachers are up graded, are raised along the salary ladder, in accordance with the extent to which they have continued their education. A board of education may say to the teachers in its

district that salary increases are contingent upon six or eight or twelve units of additional college study over a period of three or four or five years. Teachers are thus encouraged and assisted in the business of keeping abreast of new developments, of retaining freshness of outlook and intellectual vigor.

Alongside efforts of this nature are programs of in service training for teachers. This term refers to the sometimes informal, sometimes highly organized attempts of school personnel to learn more about their work on the job. Again states and districts often legislate requirements that a specified number of meetings, demonstrations, or assemblies be held for the purpose of further educating teachers. Variouslly labeled teachers' institutes, workshops, or simply committee meetings, these gatherings are intended to enhance the teacher's professional competence. Often the most effective in service training occurs in the most inauspicious and unofficial ways, particularly is this true when responsible experienced teachers serve as guides and counselors for those who are just beginning.

As with so many aspects of the educational endeavor, the measures which have been employed to promote teacher growth are frequently and seriously criticized. Does a teacher grow, it is asked, and should he qualify for raises in salary simply because he can present additional units on his college transcript? Is the mere calling together of teachers to hear some alleged expert in a brief presentation the most effective means of stimulating teachers to improve themselves? The answer, of course, is, 'It depends.' We can say without risk of serious challenge that the teacher is obligated to assume responsibility for his own continued development, regardless of official provisions. The teacher, simply because he has elected to be a teacher, has obligated himself to live a life which exemplifies interest, alertness, adaptability, and willingness to learn. When we speak of teacher education, we are unwise to conceive of it purely in terms of certification and credentials. It is a lifelong process and anyone contemplating a career in teaching must accept the challenge which this implies.

Placement and Employment of Teachers

The matter of hiring teachers is almost exclusively a local responsibility. There are some schools administered by the states outright (prison schools, schools for various handicapped groups, and the like) and for these the state itself is the employer. Similarly the Federal government operates schools and colleges of a wide variety. But the major consumer of teachers is the vast collection of local public school systems. Our discussion of placement and employment will be confined to the procedures and techniques at the local level.

The actual business of hiring teachers may be conducted by representatives of a local school district or by agents of the county educational administration. Their jurisdictions often overlap and their functions may tend to duplicate each other. In any event the local unit is empowered to establish requirements of its own, above and beyond the standard requirements set by the state. These additions may take the form of specific course work, specified academic degrees, or definite periods of professional experience. There are basically three steps in the process of teacher employment once the credential is obtained. The first of these is contact with a placement agency or bureau. These are of both the private business and the nonprofit variety. Most colleges of teacher education maintain and provide some degree of placement service for their qualified teacher candidates. Normally such an agency serves as a sort of clearinghouse through which school administrators make known their needs and are brought into contact with prospective teachers. When a student indicates his desire for placement, he is registered with the agency and a file of data about him is collected. This normally consists of the candidate's transcripts, records of his general academic performance, and letters of recommendation or reference which have been prepared by persons selected by the candidate. Such a file is then available for the consideration of interested employers.

The second step in the hiring process is usually the interview, at which time the candidate meets a representative of a school district which is in the market for teachers. Arrangements for such interviews are handled in a variety of ways. Many school officials operate almost

exclusively through placement agencies and will pay periodic visits to those agencies where appointments with candidates have been arranged. In other instances, superintendents or principals, after checking the placement files, will write directly to the candidates asking for additional information, sometimes requesting that a specially prepared form or questionnaire be filled out. In still other cases, but much less frequently, the final decision on hiring is postponed until the candidate can appear in the school district to see and be seen by those with whom he will associate. Occasionally this means that final authority on the matter of employment rests not with the superintendent but with the school board, the candidate in such situations must be interviewed and passed upon by each board member. This represents, as an earlier discussion indicated, an outmoded carry-over from the time when there were no professionally trained school administrators. A school board which today insists on the last word in hiring teachers is misapplying its energies and misdirecting its authority.

What happens during this initial interview? It is impossible to generalize and to say that each hiring official has such and such in mind as he meets and assesses prospective teachers. The interviewer presumably knows something of the candidate's background before the interview is opened. He has consulted the file and has read such letters of reference as have been received. It is probably safe to say that he is anxious to find out how a candidate responds or reacts to the interview situation. Is the prospective teacher poised, self contained, and self assured? Does he appear inordinately timid or shy or excessively glib and bombastic? Is there in this candidate evidence of warmth and depth, or is there here only superficiality and coolness? Does the candidate show by his grooming that his personal habits are desirable, does he dress with taste, take care to keep clean, and evidence some degree of concern for neatness and order? Some hiring officials will have particular concerns and will wish to know one's habits and attitudes regarding such things as alcohol, tobacco, or cards. Others will be interested in a prospective teacher's religious beliefs or orientations, still others with a candidate's politics. Happily, concerns of this latter nature are looming less large with every passing year. We mention them here not to condone them but to afford to those

who may prepare for the teaching profession some advance notice of the possible character of the employment interview. Fundamentally the interview places a teacher candidate in a fairly normal face to face relationship. It is not unlike scores, if not hundreds, of similar occurrences in any individual's previous experience. It needs only to be met with naturalness, calmness, and confidence.

The third and final step in the employment process is drawing and signing the initial contract. Generalizations are impossible as policy will vary from district to district. Usually, however, first contracts are for specified shorter periods, one or two years, and one accepting such a contract should be fully aware that, in the eyes of the community as well as legally, he is on probation for the contract's duration. Salary will be specified and the length of the contract year (whether nine, ten, or twelve months) will be indicated. Contracts or agreements will vary in the degree of specificity with which they stipulate the fields or subjects to be taught by the candidate. Occasionally, initial contracts will include conditions, these to be met by the candidates (as for example, meeting certain additional course requirements) within a definite time or before contract renewal is possible.

* * *

The matter of preparing for and obtaining a teaching position is not entirely a matter of meeting requirements and being chosen. The individual has the right and the responsibility to do some selecting on his own account. He must in considerable measure, and to the degree that opportunity affords, select for himself the job that is most suitable. The candidate to do this must know his own potentialities thoroughly, his aptitudes and his weaknesses, his interests and his areas of disinterest. The position of our dreams or the first-choice job will not usually materialize on the first try. But, a happy, healthy job assignment is more likely to result from hard-headed self-analysis with regard to one's assets and liabilities than would be the case if employment were left to pure chance. One might state three prime rules for teacher placement. Know your field, your specialty. Know the community which is considering you. Know yourself!

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

BASIC QUESTION Why is it that the credential requirements in the various states demonstrate an insistence upon preparation beyond the mastery of a given subject specialty? In the process of professional preparation, what is the function of courses in education? Why is it not sufficient for the state to require expertness in a subject and then assume that effective teaching will result?

1. Many feel that American education suffers from the multiplicity and diversity of requirements for teaching credentials maintained by the several states. They suggest, therefore, that such requirements be standardized on a national basis, in order that teachers the country over will have equivalent preparation and will thus be eligible to teach anywhere in the nation. What are the strong and weak points of this proposal?
2. Do you feel that the state should have more complete authority over the qualifications of private school teachers? How far should this go? Why?
3. It has often been seriously proposed that prospective college professors be required to meet credential requirements appropriate to the college level. What do you think would be the results of such a policy?
4. Examine the requirements for the credential appropriate to the position for which you are preparing. What do you think of them? If you had the authority, how would you change them? Why?
5. In general, how do the standards for teaching credentials today compare with those in force in 1920? In 1900? In 1850?
6. Assume that you are the hiring official for the schools of a town or city. What are some of the primary characteristics of your community which you would have to take into account in selecting new teachers for your schools? How would these factors influence you in making your selections? Or could these factors be disregarded without disadvantage to your schools?
7. Should a teacher accept a position in a community with whose mores or general social orientation he is in bitter disagreement? Is he responsible, as a teacher, for making the effort to alter or reform the attitudes of a community when he is convinced of the error of those attitudes? Or should the teacher subordinate his personal convictions and accede to the dominant point of view?

- 8 What would you list as among the more important responsibilities of a new teacher upon receiving notification of employment?
- 9 Write a letter of application for the position of your choice in education (Be honest but not modest—this is not the time to 'hide your light under a bushel')
- 10 Assume that you are faced with a choice between a teaching position in a large metropolitan school system and one in a small rural school district. What are the pros and cons of each alternative?

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PART *six*

ORGANIZED SOCIAL
FORCES AND
AMERICAN EDUCATION

There are agencies or interests in American society which, while officially unaffiliated with organized education, are powerful educational forces, agencies whose very existence is dependent upon extensive efforts to inform the public and influence public opinion. These are indeed deliberate and designed instruments of education, created like the schools to achieve particular ends. But, as is required by the tenets of democracy, these nongovernmental agencies are free to express themselves without restriction, save only as the laws of libel, slander, or treason inhibit. Did we say "informing" the public? We must add "misinforming" as well, or, to use R. B. Raup's word, "miseducating"—for there are powerful agencies which would deliberately misinform as well as those which pride themselves on devotion to verifiable fact. The educator who is unaware of these out-of-school influences could not possibly function with maximum effectiveness. Moreover, he might, through such unawareness, defeat his own efforts.

This section presents brief summary examinations of certain of the more prominent and more potent nonschool educational agencies in the United States. We are here concerned with such underlying questions as: What is the relationship of this kind of an agency to our official educational institutions? What do such agencies stand for or advocate for the conduct of education? How do these forces attempt to influence the thinking of our citizenry? Are these influences enhancing or harming the efforts of organized education? What is the responsibility of the individual teacher in dealing with these varying, often completely antagonistic pressures? In brief, with such questions as these in mind, this section considers mass media of communication (press, radio, and the like), organized business and organized labor, the political parties, the churches, and private philanthropy as educational institutions per se and as influences which impinge upon the schools themselves. Admittedly, this is but a partial representation of the numerous and various organized forces which bear upon the conduct of education. But at a time when, perhaps more than ever before in our history, educational policy and practice are the subject of public scrutiny, debate, even attack, it is essential that we understand these agencies as they affect or attempt to influence education.

Mass Media of Communication

IN THE YEAR 1943 a Commission on Freedom of the Press began a series of notable investigations into the status and function of mass communication media in the United States. Financed by a major news magazine publisher and a leading encyclopedia firm, this commission endeavored to assess the "present state and future prospects of the freedom of the press." Defining "press" broadly to include newspapers, radio, motion pictures, magazines, and books, the commission seemed at all points in its deliberations and recommendations to be dealing with educational questions of the gravest import. In his capacity as chairman of the commission, Robert M. Hutchins wrote in the introduction to the general report of the commission's activities:

The Commission is aware that the agencies of mass communication are only one of the influences forming American culture and American public opinion. They are, taken together, however, probably the most powerful single influence today. The new instruments at their disposal, which have not been exploited by other agencies, such as the school and the church, are making them more powerful all the time. The inadequacy of other agencies has doubtless contributed to the rapid growth of the power of the press. I should say, for example, that if the schools did a better job of educating our people, the responsibility of the press to raise the level of American culture, or even to supply our citizens with correct and full political, economic, and social informa-

tion would be materially altered. By pointing out the obligations of the press, the Commission does not intend to exonerate other agencies from theirs. The relative power of the press carries with it relatively great obligations.

Together with its interest in the flow of public information, the Commission has been concerned about the flow of ideas. "Civilized society is a working system of ideas. It lives and changes by the consumption of ideas. Therefore, it must make sure that as many as possible of the ideas which its members have are available for its examination." The Commission knows that one dreadful curse of contemporary life is the terrifying flood of words with which the agencies of mass communication threaten to inundate the citizen. Anybody with nothing to say can say it by mass communication if he has a knowing press agent, or a considerable reputation, or an active pressure group behind him, whereas, even with such advantages, anybody with something to say has a hard time getting it said by mass communication if it runs counter to the ideas of owners, editors, opposing pressure groups, or popular prejudice. This report should not be taken as supporting the doctrine that the freedom of the press gives access to the agencies of mass communication, as a matter of right, or even of good public policy, to those who have nothing to say. The tremendous influence of the modern press makes it imperative that the great agencies of mass communication show hospitality to ideas which their owners do not share. Otherwise, these ideas will not have a fair chance. The Commission is interested in obtaining a hearing for ideas, not in adding to the confusion of tongues.¹

There seems small room for doubt that these mass media through which is channeled the "flow" of information and of ideas are of vast significance to the conduct of education. It is rather fruitless to attempt to delineate the point at which organized education ceases and these other media take over. The reader, listener, or viewer takes the influences of the one with him when he attends to the other, beyond that, of course, each makes use of the other, as when the school employs the radio or movies for instructional purposes or when, say, government or industry attempts to use the schools for propaganda purposes. Clearly, at any rate, the two are inseparable; the concern of the educa-

¹ The Commission on Freedom of the Press. *A Free and Responsible Press* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1947), pp. vii-viii. Used by permission.

tor is the degree to which the handling of these media operates to enhance genuine and uninhibited education. While both education and the press require freedom from selfish and narrow restraints—a principle we assume to be central to *American democracy*—it is all too frequently the case that such freedom for the press, irresponsibly used, becomes a barrier to the equally necessary freedom of education. A case might be made for the reverse, as well. A school might so mishandle its responsibilities as to maximize the hazards which are inevitably inherent in freedom of expression. In a democracy each, the school and the press, depends on the other, and each has a crucial stake in the other's well being. We are concerned here to examine into the status and character of various media of mass communication in the United States today on the thesis that the health of the school is intimately bound up with the condition of those media. Listen to Thomas Jefferson on this score:

The basis of our government being the opinion of the people, the very first object should be to keep that right, and were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers or newspapers without government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter. But I should mean that every man should receive those papers and be capable of reading them.

The Historic Change in the Relations of Mass Media of Communication to American Society

When Jefferson wrote the statement just quoted, the matter of mass communication was a relatively simple affair. Colonial and early republican America was featured by very limited literacy, so in a sense it is not altogether accurate to speak of *mass* media for those times. The matter of controlling an avenue of communication to those who were literate was neither complicated nor prohibitively expensive and, as Hutchins notes, "anybody with anything to say had comparatively little difficulty in getting it published." Only as distance and travel time interfered with free access to information did this early situation seem to disturb full freedom of expression and response.

What is the picture today? Merely to recite the statistics is to suggest

the immensity of the change Upward of 97 percent of the American population is literate as defined by the United States Bureau of the Census This huge body of literacy is served, or fed, or bedeviled, or crushed by a volume of material utterly unprecedented and altogether unequaled in the world's history In 1956 there were in existence 362 morning daily newspapers and 1,594 evening daily newspapers, (of which 98 were foreign language papers) The aggregate circulation of all the English language daily newspapers was nearly 56 million, and for Sunday papers, over 46 million Inasmuch as responsible estimates claim two to three readers for each paper in circulation, these last figures should be at least doubled to realize their full meaning

Because magazine publishing is a very volatile aspect of the American scene, it is not easy to obtain a definite and reliable figure on the number of magazines published in the United States or on their readership The N W Ayer and Sons *Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals, 1956* listed 8,718 periodicals of all descriptions, from quarterlies to dailies, exclusive of newspapers There are some 20 magazines whose circulations are above 2 million each and these account for nearly one half the total magazine circulation *Life* magazine has passed the 5 million mark and the *Reader's Digest* has a domestic circulation of over 10 million and a foreign language circulation of 7,785,000 These data would tend to suggest that magazines are a more potent medium than newspapers Such is not the case As Paul Lazarsfeld noted, "The newspaper reaches more deeply into the social scale than does the magazine." He reported from a survey that while 6 percent of the lowest economic group said that they read no newspapers, 32 percent claimed no magazine reading Of persons over sixty five, 33 percent were nonreaders of magazines, but only 5 percent said that they read no newspapers² Nevertheless, magazine or periodical reading is a formidable feature of contemporary American life, and it should be added that increasingly the influence of such publications is being felt on a world wide scale, as the growing number of "international" editions of magazines attests Both the number and the circulation of American magazines seem clearly to be on the increase.

² Paul F Lazarsfeld "The Daily Newspaper and Its Competitors" *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* Vol. 219 (January 1942) pp. 32-33

Books, too, continue to multiply. During the year 1955 there were 313 publishers who produced 5 or more books. They and others published a grand total for that year—both new books and new editions of older works—of 12,589 titles, representing gross income to the publishing industry of an estimated \$650 million. This constituted a new record and was significantly in advance of the peak, prewar publishing year, 1940, when 11,328 titles were issued. With the advent of the paper-back or pocket book, however, the volume of book production was fantastically accelerated, as the following comparative estimates of book sales demonstrate.

Adult general books, including club sales

1929— 73,000,000 copies

1939— 48,000,000 copies

1947—110,000,000 copies

1954—115,000,000 copies

Inexpensive paper bound books for adults

1947— 92,000,000 copies

1954—190,000,000 copies

Juveniles, 25 cents and up

1929—37,000,000 copies

1939—35,000,000 copies

1947—54,000,000 copies

1954—95,000,000 copies

These figures³ represent huge increases, of course, though it is sobering to compare such percentages with the proportionate increases, for example, in national income or amounts spent on automobiles or alcoholic liquors.

But this is only half, perhaps far less than half, the story. Consider the nearly 20,000 motion picture theaters in the United States capable of entertaining and/or enlightening over 10 million movie goers at one time. Prior to the availability of television on a national scale, it is

³ The foregoing data were taken from *Highlights of 1955 News and Trends in the Book Industry* *Publishers Weekly* Vol 169, No 3 (January 21, 1956)

estimated that the movies catered to approximately 100 million persons per week, though this high figure is at least partially attributable to the inflation in movie attendance caused by the war. By 1955, weekly movie admissions appear to have become somewhat stabilized at around 50 million, a rise from a postwar low of 45 million in the early 1950's. But even this reduced figure means that annual attendance at the movies exceeds 2 billion!

Chief competitor to the commercially exhibited film, of course, is television. By 1955, 465 television stations were in operation serving nearly 40 million receiving sets. This staggering figure, literally not in the picture a mere decade before, meant that 70 percent of American homes, representing a potential 96 percent of the total population of the country, were within reach of this new medium!

And what of radio? The predictions of its demise and disappearance because of the development of television are seen to have been quite premature. Radio broadcasting reaches virtually every home in the United States, the potential radio audience is regarded as composed of 100 percent of the adult population. In 1955, 52 million homes and nearly 36 million automobiles had radio sets. The number of radio stations, between 1946 and 1955, was almost trebled. Thus, in the latter year, 2,719 stations of the regular AM (amplitude modulation) variety were in operation, while the spread of FM (frequency modulation) broadcasting was making high-quality reception available to an ever increasing number of listeners through some 500 FM stations.

In summary, it seems fair to state that no American community is beyond the reach of these various avenues of information and education. As Robert Hutchins and the Commission indicated, no town of 1,000 or more is without newspapers and mail service (that is, books and magazines), none lacks telephone or telegraph service, and few are without more or less regular motion pictures. All are within the reach of radio, and few indeed are beyond direct contact by television. It would be trite were it not so vital to be reminded of the tremendous educational potential contained here, to point out the limitless resources for good and evil which these agencies of communication represent. Their very universality and omnipresence only underscore their power. Having noted something of their pervasiveness and their numbers, let

us now turn to examine briefly into their content, the materials with which they deal.

The Content of Mass Communications Media

What Do the American People Read?

Books. The trade journal of the book publishing business, *Publishers' Weekly*, keeps regular and incisive tab on the reading habits or preferences of the American public. This journal reported that the year 1955 set a new record for the number of books published, with a total of 12,589 titles. It is interesting to note that, while the increase was attributed largely to the continuing rise in the production of inexpensive paper backs (which Dennis Brogan calls "the new American Lyceum"), a boom in the publication of books for children also was maintained. In this, says *Publishers' Weekly*, "the book business probably reflects an actual shift in the age level of the population . . ." More important than this single feature, however, is the picture presented of the subject matter of the year's output. The following table, constructed from data contained in *Publishers' Weekly*, January 21, 1956, affords insight into the reading tendencies in the United States during the mid-century years.

Several conclusions or at least deductions appear to be warrantable from these data. In the first place, nearly one third of the titles fall in the fiction category. It is not in our province, and certainly not our intention, to precipitate any debate as to the relative merits, from an educational viewpoint, of fiction and nonfiction. But when it is recognized that the vast majority of the books for juvenile consumption are themselves also of the fictional type, it is obvious that the reading tastes of the American people seem to run to fiction to a very high degree. Fiction aside, it is further indicated by these figures that books on the arts, history, and travel have come to outnumber those on occupational or professional fields like business or law. While these tabulations do not show the relative popularity or the scale of consumption of the various book types (examination of book sales led one commentator to suggest that "the average American wants most of all to (1) get religion; (2) reduce; or (3) refinish an antique Chippendale

Table 18-1 BOOKS PUBLISHED IN THE UNITED STATES, 1955—
BY SUBJECTS

<i>Subject</i>	<i>New books</i>	<i>New editions</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Net change over 1954</i>
1 Fiction	1,459	614	2,073	— 25
2 Juvenile	1,372	113	1,485	+143
3 Religion	747	102	849	— 26
4 Biography	735	98	833	+ 90
5 Science	673	178	801	+ 94
6 History	572	93	665	+ 60
7 General Literature and Criticism	529	131	660	+102
8 Medicine, Hygiene	407	127	534	+ 42
9 Sociology, Economics	443	77	520	+ 3
10 Poetry, Drama	473	70	493	+ 25
11 Technical and Military	355	122	477	+ 33
12 Geography and Travel	290	76	366	+ 55
13 Fine Arts	305	42	347	+ 33
14 Philosophy and Ethics	244	70	314	— 1
15 Business	228	84	312	+ 52
16 Law	240	65	305	+ 13
17 Education	231	43	274	+ 14
18 Home Economics	205	50	255	+ 16
19 Games and Sports	175	25	200	— 31
20 Agriculture and Gardening	125	43	168	+ 20
21 Philology	118	50	168	— 13
22 Music	85	18	103	+ 24
23 Miscellaneous	315	72	387	— 35
			12,589	

Source Publishers' Weekly, Vol. 169, No. 3 (January 21, 1956), p. 223

highboy"), they nevertheless seem to show that the available book fare in the United States is of wide scope. More than this, it would appear that the book publisher in producing books along such a pattern is not too far from reflecting the public taste.

The foregoing statistics did not include the output of the so-called comic books whose titles are numbered in hundreds and whose production comes to the tens of millions per week. Few children escape a more or less extensive experience with the comics, it would be difficult to exaggerate their potential impact upon the character of American life. It is impossible here to examine the nature and contents of the American comic book in any detail. We can note, however,

the types of comics which were dominant in the mid 1950s, marking as we pass that their readership was by no means confined to children. These major types appear to have been built around one or more of the following themes: 'superman,' the 'old' West, the future in fantasy, war, crime detection or murder, romance, humanized animals, and adaptations of the classics.

To suggest but one aspect of the challenge facing educators which is inherent in the fact of the prevalence of the comic book, we cite a few perceptive passages from a study of mass media and children recently conducted under the auspices of UNESCO.⁴ Commenting upon current patterns and trends in comic book production, the report stated:

The strong attraction of the superman myth is probably the most marked feature of the modern children's press. In all probability this subject of the undefeated, superhuman, eternal, etc., hero satisfies a deep-seated popular instinct. The superman's refusal to accept any intellectual life, or indeed any activity which is not the outcome of a physical exploit, is possibly of more systematic a nature than has generally been realized. The systematic simplification of motives is accompanied by a simplification of the characters. If they are to appeal only to their public's most elementary reactions [the] publishers must of necessity simplify the psychology of the characters they feature.

Comics are not, of course, a completely new phenomenon, they had their predecessors in the penny dreadfuls, the dime novels and the funny papers. What is new and unprecedented is the fact of greater volume of production of such materials and increased literacy at an earlier age, plus a decided trend toward more pictorial media of communication. For teachers, as for society at large, the comics represent a potent positive resource as well as a serious intellectual hazard. In a consideration of the educational process, they cannot be ignored.

NEWSPAPERS

The publisher is a merchant, and the editorial art is largely one of merchandising, as respects general newspaper content. In taking a posi-

⁴Philippe Bouchard *The Child Audience: A Report on Press, Film and Radio for Children* (Paris: UNESCO 1952), pp. 32-35.

tion on a public issue, the editor and the publisher may be, to a certain extent and under certain conditions, individualists, but in providing the general menu spread in the 75 to 225 nonadvertising columns of a metropolitan daily, editors and publishers attempt to provide, as closely as possible, satisfaction for the desires and tastes of what they conceive to be their proper reader audiences

This intimacy with the popular audience which is the essence of journalism gives newspaper content high validity as an index of social desires and responses *What a nation of newspaper readers wants to read and what it finds pleasure in reading are shown pretty definitely in a sympathetic journalism*⁵

So wrote Frank Luther Mott, eminent student of American journalism. As he analyzed the content of contemporary American newspapers, he was led to the general conclusion that the proportions of space given to various fields or types of news vary markedly from year to year in only a few instances. This stability in the make up of newspapers Mott attributed to the relative unchangeableness of basic human interests and desires, and to the fact that newspapers tend in general to be conservative, slow to adopt innovations in form, style, or subject matter. It is revealing and significant to note the trends in space allocation in newspapers.

The most remarkable changes in newspaper content since the turn of the century seem to be, first, increased space allotments to foreign news and to comic strips. Mott attributes the former to the pressure of world events and the latter to the growing assumption by newspapers of an entertainment function. Second, however, and at least equally significant, sizable reductions in the proportion of space devoted to original editorials have characterized the past half century. As the papers have grown ever larger, the space consigned to editorial comment has not increased but has remained almost stationary. To be sure, much editorializing is conducted through the medium of syndicated commentary, but this is not local, nor is it "personal" journalism. Nevertheless, as Walter Lippmann once observed, the newspaper "is the only serious book most people read."

⁵ Frank Luther Mott, "Trends in Newspaper Content," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 219 (January 1942), p. 60. Used by permission. Italics my own.

Table 18-2 AVERAGE NUMBER OF COLUMNS GIVEN CERTAIN CATEGORIES OF CONTENT IN EACH ISSUE IN TEN LEADING METROPOLITAN NEWSPAPERS AT THE BEGINNING OF FOUR DECADE YEARS

(Percentages on the base of total nonadvertising space and arranged according to space allotments in 1940)

	1910		1920		1930		1940	
	Col umns	Per cent	Col umns	Per cent	Col umns	Per cent	Col umns	Per cent
Business, financial, marine, etc	160	21.1	114	16.0	532	37.5	566	32.0
Sports	71	9.4	104	14.6	182	12.8	209	11.8
Illustrations (except comics)	40	5.4	40	5.7	85	6.0	198	11.2
Foreign news and features	24	3.1	62	8.8	68	4.8	140	7.9
Comic strips and singles	08	1.0	20	2.8	51	3.6	108	6.1
Washington news	47	6.1	50	7.1	57	4.0	106	6.0
Theater, movies, books, art, etc	22	2.9	22	3.1	44	3.3	74	4.2
Women's interests	11	1.5	14	2.0	23	1.6	67	3.8
Society	14	1.9	18	2.6	45	3.2	64	3.6
Original editorials	30	3.9	28	4.0	30	2.1	31	1.8
Radio announcements and news	—	—	—	—	25	1.8	25	1.4
Columns on public affairs	—	—	04	0.6	10	0.7	25	1.4

Note that the categories overlap at several points, e.g., illustrations also count for space in the various categories. Also note that this is based on a metropolitan sampling and is thus only a partial picture.

Source: Frank Luther Mott, *Trends in Newspaper Content*, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* Vol. 219 (January 1942), p. 61. Used by permission. For more recent, though untabulated data, see F. L. Mott, *American Journalism: a History of Newspapers in the United States through 260 Years 1690 to 1950* (New York, Macmillan, 1953).

What Do the American People See and Hear? The combination of the 20,000 motion picture theaters, the 40 million television sets, and the 135 million radios in the United States presents a picture of mass communication which is overpowering. With possible audiences literally as vast as the nation itself, these media are surely potent forces for the dissemination of ideas. Indeed, we need only remind ourselves of the comparison between the number of hours a child spends in school and the time he is attending to one of these instruments to sense their limitless educational potential. We must inquire, therefore, what do these media give to their audiences, how is this massive

clientele served? Further, to what extent does this audience actually avail itself of the merchandise—the motion pictures or broadcast programs—which these media offer? Let us attempt to answer the latter question first

In a typical year in the decade 1945-1955, the motion picture industry produced around 380 feature films, plus a much larger amount of short subjects. We have noted that weekly attendance at the movies, following upon the large scale availability of television, averages some 50 million admissions. Every day, approximately 25,000 different radio program offerings are broadcast over American airwaves. The measurement of the actual audience is a tricky and somewhat inexact operation, but one responsible estimate places the number of persons who listen to the radio sometime each day at 77,500,000. Of television, Dallas Smythe reports that "It is possible to predict that tomorrow between 60 and 80 percent" of the television sets of the nation will be turned on for an average of rather more than five hours per day. Some indication of its pervasiveness is given as we note that the first major color television program—a production of *Peter Pan* in March 1955—drew an audience of over 65 million. And when we are told that more people witnessed the last presidential inauguration than had seen all the preceding inauguration ceremonies combined, or that one television performance of the Metropolitan Opera serves an audience far exceeding that of ten full seasons in the Manhattan opera house, we are made inescapably aware that here is a new force and a mighty one.

MOVIES For the time and money so spent, what do the people receive? If we turn first to the movies, we are struck by the surprising lack of useful and intensive data regarding their content. Few attempts at classification and analysis of the substance of American motion pictures have been made. The most highly regarded and extensive surveys, those of Edgar Dale⁶ and Dorothy Jones,⁷ are, for purposes of this discussion, primarily of historical interest. A comparison of the findings of those two studies suggests that between the early 1930's and the mid 1940's increasing attention was paid in films to matters of

⁶ Edgar Dale, *The Content of Motion Pictures* (New York, Macmillan, 1935).

⁷ Dorothy B. Jones, "Quantitative Analysis of Motion Picture Content," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 42 (Fall 1942), pp. 411-428.

social or political significance, while stories based upon crime, slapstick comedy, or pure romance declined in frequency. It is impossible to report with any assurance that these trends were continued into the 1950's. Perhaps the most important postwar developments in this area have been, first, the introduction into American theaters on a much-broadened scale of high-caliber foreign films and, second, the growth of the Western movie from the simple "horse opera" into a vehicle of genuine esthetic significance.

Today, we are told, "Movies are better than ever." Unquestionably they are bigger than ever. The competition of television has forced technical innovations upon the film industry which, in the attempt to lure us back to the theater, have concentrated upon expanding both screen and sound track. There can be no question, as we view such masterpieces as *Richard III*, *Moby Dick*, or *High Noon*, that great advances have been made. And yet there is small room for complacent, smug, self-congratulation on the general intellectual or aesthetic level of American motion pictures. While there are indications of improvement, it appears to be rather slow and lumbering, generally uninspired and unimaginative, conformist rather than creative, conventional rather than causal. If, as was stated by the president of the Motion Picture Association of America, "the motion picture can be a medium of enlightenment unlike any other ever dreamed about," there is both great promise in store and a vast labor yet to be performed.

RADIO How shall we classify the eight or nine million programs which issue from the radios of America each year? Professor Dallas Smythe, of the Institute of Communications Research at the University of Illinois, has devised a convenient set of classifications of radio (and television) programs which can serve our purposes here.⁸ Smythe suggests that there are essentially three kinds of broadcast programs: the "entertainment" type, the "information" type, and the "orientation" type, in which the key objective is to affect or influence attitudes and values in some way. Various studies indicate that for the years since

⁸ See Dallas W. Smythe, *The Content and Effects of Broadcasting*, Chapter IX, *Mass Media and Education*, 53rd Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1954), upon which much of our discussion of the content of radio and television is based.

the war about 75 percent of all commercial radio broadcasting fell into the "entertainment" category. Approximately 15 to 16 percent of the programs were classed as "informational" in type, while the remaining 9 to 10 percent were of the "orientation" variety. Of course, as Smythe noted, "these are not water tight categories, entertainment type programs may also provide information and orientation, and vice versa."⁹

Further refined, these data show music to be the largest single consumer of radio time—41 percent of broadcasting hours were devoted to music, of which approximately one fifth (or 8 percent of the total broadcast time) was found to be of the classical or semiclassical sort. Another 16 percent of all radio time was given to dramatic programs, and of this nearly half was occupied by the daytime serial or "soap opera" presentation. Straight news reporting accounted for a further 13 percent of the schedule. Thus, these three categories employed about 70 percent of the total broadcasting hours. The remaining 30 percent was distributed approximately as follows:

Variety shows	7 percent
Quiz programs	6
Religious services	
or talks	6
Sports broadcasts	4
General talks on public issues	
or personal problems	3
Farm programs	2
Home making programs	1
Forums and panels	1

These data represent some significant shifts in the nature of the radio program as a result of the advent of television. These changes are in large measure explained by a fundamental revision in the role played by radio. In the words of one radio executive: "You might say TV is following the national magazine pattern. We (the individual radio stations) pattern ourselves as closely as possible after the successful local newspaper." This has meant a much greater emphasis upon spot local news, local advertising, recorded music, and sporting events,

⁹ Smythe *op cit* p. 196

in contrast to the earlier prominence of national network shows. Nevertheless, the general assessment of radio broadcasting which was provided by Harold Laski in his incisive examination of life in the United States, *The American Democracy*, is still in great measure valid. Laski wrote ¹⁰

Anyone who studies the programmes of the different systems will note that, though with a fairly continuous experimentalism, they have certain patterns. Programmes for children, important orchestras, great international speeches, like those of the president or of the British prime minister, immediate reporting of events like the opening of the United Nations, dance music, Negro spirituals, are all likely to secure a national hook up. Nearly eighty percent of the commercially sponsored programmes run for about fifteen minutes, and radio time is mostly sold between six and ten o'clock in the evening, the hours from nine to ten o'clock achieving the maximum commercial value with nearly seventy five percent of the time sold. But it is also evident that eleven to midday, and three to four in the afternoon are fairly popular, since nearly forty percent of this time is filled by programmes of commercial sponsoring.

I have myself analyzed the programme of a New York station for over a month. Dance music was the largest item, with comic music hall "turns" coming second, sports, both news and description, came sixth in the list, news reports came seventh, drama came eleventh, religious services came fifteenth, ranking just below cookery and household hints, discussion of national policies ranked twenty first, and was accorded just over one percent of the whole radio time, while political speeches were at the bottom of the list and did not even reach one half of one percent of the schedule.

Finally, it is perhaps instructive to note the disclosures of another recent public opinion survey dealing with popular preferences in radio. Twenty six percent of those polled reported that they listened to the radio solely for entertainment, while 52 percent consider radio as a source of both entertainment and education. The remaining 20-odd percent are desirous that radio provide more programs of a serious nature. When asked what they liked about contemporary American

¹⁰ Harold Laski, *The American Democracy* (New York, Viking, 1948) p. 701. Used by permission.

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¹⁰ Harold Laski *The American Democracy* (New York: Viking, 1943) p. 701. Used by permission.

broadcasting, 70 percent mentioned news reporting, 50 percent favored comedy offerings, 40 percent said they approved of radio discussions of public issues, and 30 percent included classical music. If such findings are valid, they seem clearly to indicate that the allocations of radio time are not at all points consonant with the interests and desires of the listening public. M. Bauchard puts his finger on the crux of the matter in writing that "The lack of new ideas, the reliance on time worn methods like variety, and the failure to carry out investigations and opinion surveys to ascertain the reactions and tastes of the radio audience doom this all important medium to an educational role far below its actual potential. Even more crucial, the failure of radio to "tackle serious themes which are closer to everyday life" means that the job of the school is both enlarged and complicated by the quality and the nature of modern broadcasting.

TELEVISION. There can be little doubt that the most potent medium for informing, enlightening, entertaining, or duping the American public is television. Combining as it does the elements of the movie theater and the home radio, television obviously presents both undreamed possibilities and quite novel hazards. To a degree, one is justified in saying that the conclusions or generalizations here presented regarding the movies and the radio apply also to television. Many contend that the bulk of television offerings are simply radio programs made visible, that, in a number of respects, television broadcasting has not advanced much beyond, if indeed it has attained, the levels at which radio has performed. Clearly, for such a new medium, it is much too early to pass any sort of definitive judgment, although the air is full of praises and denunciations, baleful predictions of unprecedented evils, and glowing promises of incomprehensible benefits attributed to television broadcasting. As we turn to consider the general substance of television fare in the mid 1950s, we should note that in at least one respect television is not unique. Similar criticisms were also leveled at mechanized printing, at proposals to initiate or expand systems of public education, and at television's immediate predecessor, radio. But it is clear that a powerful new element has been added to our way of life. One authority, Mr. Red Smith, sports columnist for the *New York Herald Tribune*, contends that "We are coming closer and

closer to a day when the public will take virtually all its entertainment in the living room when spectator sports will be supported almost entirely by business firms using the events as television attractions for advertising. There must be industries in every sizable city that could afford to sponsor baseball teams purely as television performers, giving away the tickets to the games, if necessary. This may be the shape of the immediate future.¹¹

Some canvassing of television programs has been undertaken most extensively under the auspices of the National Association of Educational Broadcasters and the University of Illinois Institute of Communications Research, previously mentioned. For an analysis of program content on television, we turn again to Dallas Smythe who reports on surveys carried out by those organizations.¹² Generalizing from the data there reported, which dealt with television broadcasting in Los Angeles, California, and New Haven, Connecticut, as well as New York City, and utilizing again the three categories Smythe employed in describing radio programming, the television menu (as of 1953) was roughly as follows: Upward of 75 percent of total broadcast time was given to programs in the entertainment class. Within this classification, the major program type was drama, constituting nearly half of all programs—roughly 47 percent. Chief types of drama were, of course, crime (15 percent of all broadcast time) and Western (7 percent of the total). The second most frequent entertainment type offering was the variety program, taking nearly 10 percent of all available channel time. Following in this classification were quiz and contest shows (6 percent), sports broadcasts (5 percent), music (4 percent), and shows featuring personalities (3 percent).

'Information' type programs amounted to approximately 20 percent of the total, of which news broadcasts made up the largest single part (8 percent). Programs dealing in domestic information (household helps, do it yourself, instructions, and the like) were allotted 5 percent of broadcast time, children's information comprised a further 1 percent.

¹¹ Red Smith, *New York Herald Tribune*, December 5, 1954.

¹² Dallas W. Smythe, *Three Years of New York Television, 1951-1953* (Urbana: III National Association of Educational Broadcasters, 1953). See also Smythe, *The Content and Effects of Broadcasting*, *op cit*, pp. 199ff.

and general information programs (this class included such presentations as science lectures and demonstrations) about 0.5 percent

Within the "orientation" type category, accounting in all for but one twentieth (5 percent) of all television programs, religious broadcasts were most prominent. These amounted to about 15 percent of the total. Other type programs in this classification—discussions of public issues, public institutional presentations (for example, Armed Forces' films), and preschool educational efforts—each occupied 1 percent of the total.

There is a challenge in these figures. It is a challenge to educators, to be sure, to work at the business of raising the nation's standards, but it is equally a challenge to the television industry and to all connected with or concerned about the mental and moral health of the nation. And it is a challenge to parents, for after all the ultimate effectiveness or influence of television is realized in the home. It is indeed time for the most serious concern and the most prodigious efforts if the truth of the following statement from a leading authority on mass education is to be disproved:

I am convinced that you are witnessing today the Golden Age of television—that there are actually more programs of quality and originality on the air today than there will be five, ten, fifteen years from now, because the operation of simple economic laws will drive sponsors increasingly to the lowest-common-denominator program. I abandon commercial television to mass entertainment and have the smallest hope of its producing a diversity even comparable to what radio has produced.¹³

Not all the experts are so glum. One, Mr. Jack Gould, radio-television editor of *The New York Times*, wrote in his column of April 24, 1955, that "Television is being driven into competition in terms of quality, not quantity. There's a long, long road ahead, but at least the omens for the future are better than they have been. It's much too early to throw any hats in the air, but there is reason for cautious optimism."

¹³ Charles A. Siepmann, in "Television and Education," a symposium sponsored by the *New Republic* and the National Association of Educational Broadcasters, *New Republic* (Feb. 26, 1951). Used by permission.

EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION In 1952 the Federal Communications Commission, which is charged with the oversight of radio and television broadcasting in the United States, placed 242 (later increased to 258) television channels in special reserve for noncommercial educational usage. Such a move had been proposed in the 1930s with respect to radio frequencies but nothing had materialized. With the appearance of television, a group of educators, public officials, and other leaders dedicated themselves to an effort to capitalize more fully upon the educational potential in the new communications medium. Not at all sanguine as to the likelihood of effective educational activity on the part of commercial interests, these parties banded together to promote *nonprofit, noncommercial broadcasting*. The hope was that colleges and universities, states and municipalities, and other noncommercial bodies would put these reserved channels to use with programs of general service to the community.

As of 1956, there were some 20 educational television (ETV) stations in operation in 14 states, for which the potential audience was estimated at 46 million persons. (In addition 10 ETV stations were a building, 34 more had secured construction permits, and a further 50 had made application for channels from the Federal Communications Commission.) Various supported by educational institutions, state legislatures, private foundations, or local civic organizations, the ETV stations were vigorously pioneering in the attempt to provide the kinds of programs which commercial broadcasting had neglected. For these—the educational, cultural, innovative, and oftentimes controversial offerings—a commercially adequate audience may not exist and business sponsorship has therefore been reluctant to risk its investment.

A few instances of ETV activities must suffice to illustrate both its record and its possibilities. In Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, the 'High School of the Air' over station WQED, offering courses leading to graduation, has for several years attracted an enrollment in the thousands. A course of lectures on 'The Religions of Man,' presented over the St. Louis station, KETC, was reported to have drawn 1,100 to the lecture hall and a home audience of 100,000. Other notable programs have included a series of 13 films devoted to the peacetime uses of atomic energy, a series of 39 discussions of the 'Great Ideas of Western

Man," a series of programs on "The World We Want," featuring high school youth from all over the world considering international problems, and a series of 30 presentations of or about Shakespearean drama. At the same time, extensive efforts have been undertaken to investigate the extent to which ETV is, or can be, in fact "educational." New York University, Pennsylvania State University, the public schools of St. Louis, Missouri, and San Francisco State College are among recent recipients of grants to promote experiments in teaching by television. Such courses as English literature, psychology, economics, and French are being presented to regular classroom groups while listening in at some 'remote' spot are the students by television. A further illustration of the current activities in this field is the establishment of the Educational Radio and Television Center at Ann Arbor, Michigan. Here, recordings of broadcast programs are pooled to be made available on loan to ETV outlets throughout the country. Here, too, study and promotion of the production of programs for educational purposes is carried on, largely by virtue of the assistance of the Ford Foundation's Fund for Adult Education.

Despite these evidences of vigor and imagination, the movement for ETV was in a most critical position in 1956. Many felt that a mere twenty stations in operation after five years of the reservation of channels was a sorry, indeed a distressing record. Inadequate support, from educators, legislators, and civic organizations, had plagued nearly every ETV effort and commercial interests eyed the frozen channels ever more anxiously. Moreover, educators themselves were apparently agreed neither on the necessary merits of educational over commercial broadcasting for school uses nor even as to the type of audience educational television should seek. Should it be the broad community or the "captive" audience of a closed-circuit system—the children and youth already in the classroom? And finally, as has been suggested, the actual educational effectiveness of the television program, whether commercial or ETV, has yet to be conclusively established. The most one can say at this stage is that teachers and educators must be constantly on the alert to the impact of television upon the lives of their students, the contributions it makes and the problems it creates, and alert, too, to its value as an educational resource. Perhaps at no point in the modern

social fabric is there more room and need for the application of the best educational thought available

The Control of Mass Media of Communication

Perhaps the chief concern of the Hutchins Commission on Freedom of the Press lay in the area of how, and by whom, the organs of mass communication were controlled. It hardly needs stating that the conduct of education, in America as in any country, is critically conditioned by the ways and the directions in which sources of information are directed, organized, administered. It is altogether germane to this discussion to consider briefly the status of the control and the concomitant element of competition or diversity in the communications field.

The commission found that 'the outstanding fact about the communications industry today is that the number of its units has declined'. There is an undeniable trend toward ever greater concentration, discernible in all the various media, perhaps most notable in the newspaper field, least so in the book publishing business.

In only 96, or fewer than one twelfth, of the cities with daily newspapers were there competing papers in 1950. While some of the larger cities—New York, Boston, Chicago, San Francisco—may have three or four daily newspapers, most communities have but one. The presence of two journals in the same town does not ensure competition and diversity of opinion, for very often the two local papers are under the same management. Indeed, there are ten states in which *no* city has competing daily newspapers. This means that, taking the country as a whole, 92 percent of American communities are served by but one local paper, that over 40 percent of the total daily circulation is noncompetitive. Over all, the number of daily newspapers has dropped from a peak of 2,600 in the year 1909 to approximately 1,850 in the late 1950's. And, as one leading newspaper editor realistically warns, 'In every city of half a million population or less where there is more than one newspaper ownership, consolidation may be expected'.

These data must be seen, too, in terms of the influence of the three major press associations: United Press, Associated Press, and Interna-

Man," a series of programs on "The World We Want," featuring high school youth from all over the world considering international problems, and a series of 30 presentations of or about Shakespearean drama. At the same time, extensive efforts have been undertaken to investigate the extent to which ETV is, or can be, in fact "educational." New York University, Pennsylvania State University, the public schools of St. Louis, Missouri, and San Francisco State College are among recent recipients of grants to promote experiments in teaching by television. Such courses as English literature, psychology, economics, and French are being presented to regular classroom groups while listening in at some "remote" spot are the students by television. A further illustration of the current activities in this field is the establishment of the Educational Radio and Television Center at Ann Arbor, Michigan. Here, recordings of broadcast programs are pooled to be made available on loan to ETV outlets throughout the country. Here, too, study and promotion of the production of programs for educational purposes is carried on, largely by virtue of the assistance of the Ford Foundation's Fund for Adult Education.

Despite these evidences of vigor and imagination, the movement for ETV was in a most critical position in 1956. Many felt that a mere twenty stations in operation after five years of the reservation of channels was a sorry, indeed a distressing record. Inadequate support, from educators, legislators, and civic organizations, had plagued nearly every ETV effort and commercial interests eyed the frozen channels ever more anxiously. Moreover, educators themselves were apparently agreed neither on the necessary merits of educational over commercial broadcasting for school uses nor even as to the type of audience educational television should seek. Should it be the broad community or the "captive" audience of a closed-circuit system—the children and youth already in the classroom? And finally, as has been suggested, the actual educational effectiveness of the television program, whether commercial or ETV, has yet to be conclusively established. The most one can say at this stage is that teachers and educators must be constantly on the alert to the impact of television upon the lives of their students, the contributions it makes and the problems it creates, and alert, too, to its value as an educational resource. Perhaps at no point in the modern

approximately two hundred publishers were responsible for the issuance of about 90 percent of the books published in the United States. But even here the trade shows signs of concentrative tendencies as it is noted that over one quarter of all books are produced by the ten largest publishers.

It is important to recognize one other basic element in this over all picture of concentration in the communications industry. When Benjamin Franklin contemplated buying out the *Pennsylvania Gazette* in colonial Philadelphia, he could think in terms of two or three hundred pounds as necessary capital. Recent estimates of the costs of entering the communications business today afford a staggering contrast. To found a new metropolitan daily newspaper today and build it to success and solvency would cost at least \$5 million and probably more nearly \$10 million. To do the same in a small town, it is estimated that one would require from \$25,000 to \$100,000. And it is a matter of record that individual radio stations have sold for more than \$1 million. Small wonder that new ventures in journalism or broadcasting are both less frequent and less likely. Nor is it strange that entry into these fields must be accompanied by accumulated wealth, these are not, as in Franklin's day, channels available to anyone with an idea and a few pounds.

An editorial in the trade journal *Editor & Publisher* (Dec. 31, 1938), commenting on the trends in newspaper publishing, speaks clearly for the situation in communications generally.

There are about 1,200 cities in which single newspapers or single ownerships now supply all the printed news.

We mean no reflection on any of these 1,200 newspapers when we say that the condition does not represent a healthful trend in journalism. It is absolutely true that in the majority of cases, the noncompetitive ownerships have been conscious of the responsibilities their situation entails. They have attempted to give expression to the varying shades of opinion within their communities and to a remarkable extent, they have succeeded in doing so. The danger remains, however, that freedom for minority expression will be curtailed, especially in a period when political feelings tend toward extremes and when one extreme sees not only no good but positive danger in the beliefs of the other. The Ameri

tional News Service For 95 percent of the English language daily newspapers, "serving all but one fifth of 1 percent of the total daily circulation," are consumers of the news dispensed by the three wire services Similarly, we must note the central role of the newspaper syndicates, such as the Western Newspaper Union, King Features, or that owned and operated by the Chicago *Tribune* New York *Daily News* semipartnership These syndicates, supplying photographs, columnists on a wide variety of subjects, comic strips, crossword puzzles, and so on, provide "a central control of content far more extensive than any control through ownership"

Another highly centralizing tendency in the newspaper field is the increase in chain ownership of newspapers While the commission found the size of individual chains to be diminishing, the number of such chains is on the increase In 1935 there were 63 newspaper chains, in 1950 the figure stood at 70 These organized collections of journalistic outlets, including the Hearst and Scripps-Howard associations as well as smaller regional or local combines, control approximately 54 percent of the total national circulation Fourteen chains control 25 percent of the daily circulation of the country

Similar conditions prevail among the other media of communication Of magazines, the commission reported that "Thirty years ago there were nearly two dozen women's magazines and a group of six large magazines was just emerging Now the six largest in a reduced field have nearly nine tenths of the total circulation"

While, as we have seen, radio has grown increasingly local in character in the past few years, television is dominated by the national networks despite legal restrictions on the concentration of station ownership Many radio and television stations are owned by newspaper concerns and at least one tenth of the local stations are owned by the same persons as control the local newspaper Eight major motion picture companies produce 85 percent of the films and control most of the business of film distribution

The production of books is somewhat less concentrated and more competitive New book publishers seem to appear rather frequently and enter a somewhat more promising field As of the mid 1950s.

<i>Radio</i>	<i>Press</i>	<i>Television</i>
New York Philharmonic Symphony	Walter Lippmann Li'l Abner	Ed Sullivan show Disneyland
Telephone Hour	New York Times	See It Now
Invitation to Learning	Chicago Tribune	Major league baseball
Monitor	Time	Ding Dong School
Salt Lake Tabernacle Choir	Life Look	Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet
CBS Radio Workshop	Harper's Monthly	Roller derbies
This I Believe	New Republic	
Dragnet		

What are some of the *more important educational questions* prompted by such statistics?

2. What concrete evidence have we of the effects of these various media upon the adolescent mind and personality? Are you prepared to admit that, when properly used, all such media are far more beneficial than harmful, far more promising than menacing?
3. Do you feel that the radio and TV in the United States currently devote enough time to truly educational offerings? Do you think any more can be done along this line as long as the success of a broadcast is so intimately tied up with the sale of some product? Does this mean that some, or perhaps all, of American broadcasting should become the function and responsibility of government?
4. What basic human types—or stereotypes—are most frequently or regularly depicted on commercial television? What evidence is there that such broadcast types influence child or adolescent behavior?
5. Classify the motion pictures offered in your community over a period of time. What is the nature of the distribution of these films in terms of their content? How does this compare with the findings of other studies of film content?
6. What evidence have we regarding the effectiveness of television as a teaching medium? In how far does it constitute an answer to the shortage of qualified teachers?
7. To what extent do you feel that commercial television is performing a creditable job of education or enlightenment? Does the country really need separate ETV stations?
8. Radio, television, motion pictures, and comic books have all been consistently attacked as catering to moronic intelligence, to the great *dis-*

can system thrives best when ideas strike sparks and opposites rub each other into usable size and shape.¹⁴

* * *

For American education these data and conclusions have huge and inescapable implications. Never before was it so important that the schools emphasize in their teaching, not just information and formulas, but insight, perception, and the power to criticize. Never before was it so vital that the schools be so operated as to assist the student in finding his way intelligently through the welter of ideas which surrounds him. Never before was it so essential that the schools support and exemplify belief in the principle of free access to information, encouraging the student to analyze and weigh evidence, to test data and to draw defensible conclusions.

There is, perhaps, another side to the role of the school in meeting the challenge of mass communications. The school, with the family, must act to elevate the standards of consumption of the communications product. If, as our survey suggests, radio, movie, or television fare is not generally notable for its aesthetic quality, the school's contribution to the improvement of this condition could be powerful and positive. When these considerations are coupled with the fact of an increased leisure time, the importance of the school's function is only further underscored. One is justified in contending that American education, as it operates in the context of the mass communications media here described, is both our first line of defense and our chief hope for cultural improvement.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

BASIC QUESTION If we say, as we have said of teachers, that those agencies which are engaged in the business of purveying information have a deep social obligation to print, broadcast, or portray the truth as they see it, how should American society, and its schools, deal with the agencies or interests which patently disregard this principle?

- 1 What are some dependable estimates of the number of persons directly reached by the following

¹⁴ Used by permission of *Editor & Publisher*

- Mott, Frank L., *American Journalism, a History of Newspapers in the United States through 260 Years 1690 to 1950*, New York, Macmillan, 1953.
- Parker, Everett C, and others, *The Television Radio Audience and Religion*, New York, Harper, 1955
- Schramm, Wilbur (ed), *The Process and Effects of Mass Communication*, Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1955
- Seldes, Gilbert, *The Public Arts*, New York, Simon and Schuster, 1956
- Wertham, Frederic, *Seduction of the Innocent*, New York, Rinehart, 1954
- Wylie, Max, *Clear Channels*, New York, Funk and Wagnalls, 1955
- UNESCO, *World Communications Press, Radio, Film Television*, 3rd edition, Paris, UNESCO, 1956

age man" or the mind of the thirteen year-old. In general, is this a valid indictment? Where is your evidence?

- 9 If you have answered Question 8 in the affirmative, do the schools have any responsibility for encouraging higher standards, for graduating young 'people who will demand intellectual merchandise of a higher quality? How can the schools do this?

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- Lippmann, Walter, *Liberty and the News*, New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1920
- , *The Phantom Public*, New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1925.
- , *Public Opinion*, New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1922

It is with this logic before us that we turn to examine in this chapter organized business as an educational force in American society. The chapters which follow are devoted to similar analyses of organized labor, political parties, and organized religion. As we do this, we enter into the field of educational sociology, or what some prefer to label more broadly the social foundations of education. It is our firm conviction that education in the United States can proceed in health and with maximum benefit to all only as it functions in relevant and functional awareness of the society of which it is a part. Today, more than ever before, the crucial significance of this relationship is being impressed upon us.

The Contemporary Business Scene in the United States

It seems appropriate and useful to note certain of the primary characteristics of contemporary American business, not with a view to economic analysis, which would be presumptuous, but to indicate facets of the American economy which clearly have considerable bearing upon the conduct of education. The emergence of these factors, with the inevitable accompanying controversy, or their establishment, with the inevitable accompanying dislocation of other elements, serves to highlight critical points in the total culture. Their influences or impact upon American schools are profound and far reaching.

The Health of the American Economy One of the central features of economic life in America today is a widespread and deep seated controversy as to the direction in which the business activity of the nation should move. Signs of fundamental disagreement regarding the future forms and functions of American economic institutions are apparent on every hand. The controversies are waged around such questions as the desirability of returning to a gold monetary standard, the extent to which public ownership of industry is wise, the necessity for various kinds of economic controls, the wisdom of "free trade" in world markets, or the need for increased governmental regulation of labor management relations or interstate commerce. For some, these questions seem to resolve themselves into rather oversimplified asser

Organized Business and Education

RAUP, one of the foremost students of the interrelations of the organized interests in American society and the American educational system, has presented us with both a theme and a *raison d'être* for this and the next several chapters. In the introduction to his incisive study¹ he wrote that

. . . the educator, when he draws up a course of study or a program for the schools, or when he more than superficially considers the ideals and objectives with which he carries on, finds himself dealing with *the very same disrupted and conflicting strands of the common culture* which account for the existence and the contentions of the active organized interests in American society. This is the educator's meeting ground with almost every group in the land. He cannot understand the culture he transmits without knowing these groups, and he cannot understand the groups he must meet without knowing the points of change in the culture which give the organized groups cause for being. He works with these organized groups on the advancing front of a changing social order, and interprets their relation to a new culture. He asks what great common denominators of the prevailing culture they are defending, or, if the consensus of the old has begun to break, what new patterns they are proposing. In this way he learns and comprehends their integral relation to the heart of the educational task.

¹ R. Bruce Raup, *Education and Organized Interests in America* (New York, Putnam, 1936), p. 6. Used by permission.

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. . . stand aside from the immediate concerns of this month or last, from the inflation or deflation of the moment, and take a long look behind, the minor ups and downs flatten out in a rising curve of economic activity, of increasing productive power, unique in the annals of this world. It is deeply impressive. And when we project this curve into the future, assuming that we can continue to act as we have in the past, we begin to realize America's vast economic and social potential . . .

The challenge [of this history and potential] cuts across the lines that all too often separate us into angry pressure groups. It tends to draw us all together in the one common cause of greater and more continuous production with a more fair and reasonable distribution of the benefits. Our inventive genius, our organizing ability and our skills have given us here in the United States the greatest productivity and the highest standard of living in the world, enjoyed by the largest proportion of the population—in spite of all of our depressions, unemployment and economic wranglings. If we can prevent the universal devastation of atomic warfare, and if we can continue to spread the benefits of a constantly increasing productivity in the United States, we can go on to economic and cultural heights as far—and farther—above those of today as those of 1949 are beyond the imaginings of our great grand fathers back in 1849.³

That this clear cut and basic divergence of views is a central element in contemporary American economic life can hardly be denied. That the two convictions here voiced represent a "pessimistic" and an "optimistic" evaluation of the present state of American capitalism seems also to be a valid conclusion, though some would substitute "realistic" and "naive."

For our purposes let us note the fact that one's orientation toward

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tions of "socialism" over "capitalism" or 'individual initiative' rather than "planned economy" or vice versa *But behind all these differences of opinion lies a fundamental division on the essential health of the American economy, now and for the future*

Typical of the analyses made by those who find the American economy sick and outdated is this synoptic statement from the eminent socialist critic, Harold Laski. Commenting on the assertion of a noted American economic historian, Louis Hacker, that America is on the threshold of a period of incomparable abundance, Laski counters

I do not believe in that economics of abundance upon which Professor Hacker lays so strong an emphasis. He is, I think, confusing mass production with abundance. They are quite different things. A society of which the economic basis is, as in the United States, capitalist, is not concerned with abundance but with the making of profit for those who own and control the instruments of production. Profit comes from the satisfaction of effective demand, and the outstanding fact in the economic life of America is that the distribution of wealth does not make possible the use of its productive resources by American consumers. That grim truth emerges from the fact that if the government of the United States ceased to place orders for the waging of war the number of its unemployed would, at the present rate of production, be counted by millions. And once we effectively re-enter a world of peace there is no reason to expect that the government of the United States will place orders with private industry on a scale which will secure full employment at adequate wages for the mass of American workers. The main preoccupation of wealthy America will be tax reduction, and the obvious high roads to tax reduction are either the socialization of ownership—which is a threat to the heart of wealthy America—or the reduction of the orders placed by the federal government with private enterprise. It is a reasonable speculation to assume that the attention of wealthy America will be directed to the second of these alternatives. It then becomes a fairly safe prophecy that, after a boom period in which the shortage of consumers' goods is replaced, the post war America of monopoly capitalism will, even with its capacity for mass production, stagger in some zigzag fashion into a new depression.²

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the American economy cannot but vitally affect his approach to American education. Matters of subject matter and curricular emphasis, of administration, finance, and organization, perhaps even of standards for textbooks and for teacher certification will be influenced not a little by the attitudes one holds regarding the role and function of business and industry. Clearly this matter is one of the central educational issues of our time.

Government Regulation of Business Enterprise. Another salient feature of the American economic scene is the element of social planning in the conduct of economic affairs. While a major question in the debate noted above has to do with the extent to which a planned or managed economy is desirable, and while one's view of the economic future of the United States tends to condition one's insistence upon economic planning and regulation, it is undeniable that the nation has removed itself from a situation in which the economy is allowed to operate "naturally," uninhibited by social concerns. If, indeed, it be at all accurate to speak of some former period in our national history when social controls in the form of public policies were altogether absent, certainly today we live with an economy which is characterized by a high degree of governmental regulation and direction.

The evidences of this fact are legion. Merely to list some of the more significant examples of this condition is to show how the business activity of the nation is governed on every hand by the expressions of a demand for economic planning. Consider the Interstate Commerce Commission, to which the railroads and air lines must apply for permission to increase freight rates and passenger fares, or the Federal Communications Commission, which controls the licensing of radio and television stations and is even now wrestling with the problem of retaining special allocations of television frequencies for purely educational interests. Note the operation of the Securities and Exchange Commission, an agency born of the nonregulated activities on the stock market and which today oversees and regulates that aspect of the American economy. The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation serves to stabilize and protect the operations of the nation's banks by, among other functions, guaranteeing the safety of bank deposits against financial adversities. And we could list many more farm

subsidy programs, antitrust legislation, regulations of labor management relations, and taxation policies When there are added to these relatively permanent programs the war and cold war' emergency measures for economic control, the present state of public management of American business life is starkly underscored And, while the examples here noted have all been taken from activities of the Federal government, similar (though perhaps lesser) illustrations are to be found with increasing frequency at the state and local levels as well

Clearly for the United States, the day of the completely free economy, the automatic, natural, *laissez faire* economy has gone The nation has moved deliberately and deeply into patterns of economic planning and regulation This is not to suggest that the question is altogether a closed one, however—far from it! Debate continues and will continue over the *extent* or the *degree* to which controls and regulative planning are desirable To what extent, for example, is it sound public policy for the nation to underwrite the producer of certain agricultural products? How far should society go, through its government, in setting the conditions of labor in industry? What degree of regulation of the prices for various services and commodities is consistent with a belief in free enterprise and individual initiative? These and a host of other questions are simply further emphasized by an over all commitment to the idea that some economic planning is desirable They are certainly not eliminated

The basic issue is not whether or not to establish a program of economic regulation but rather the problem of determining the optimum level of operation of such regulation That education is both affected by and can itself affect these decisions is almost a truism But clearly the economic climate of opinion on matters of this sort will have grave implications for the entire operation of American schools And just as clearly the effectiveness with which the schools fulfill their responsibilities will condition the intelligence with which these questions of basic policy are met

Concentration of Business Control. For many, the central feature of the contemporary American economic scene is the presence and continued growth of large business enterprises and the resultant tendency

toward a concentration of economic power. Edwards and Richey, leading social historians of American education, recognize this phenomenon as of crucial concern to schools and teachers. In their valuable history⁴ they consider in detail certain aspects of the status of the large corporation in American economic life which they deem of significance for the conduct of education. Their analysis opens

If corporations had remained small concerns, they would not have had a very profound effect upon the organization of American economic life. But some of them did not remain small. A few hundred of the largest have come to occupy a dominant position in the American economy, so dominant, in fact, that many regard them as the major force in our society. Certain it is that the concentration of economic power in the hands of a few giant corporations has raised problems of the first magnitude and certain it is that the American citizen who fails to understand the essential elements of these problems is living in an unreal world.

A great deal of data is available with which to illustrate and detail the current position of corporate business and its impact upon the total economy. Most useful and illuminating are the reports prepared for Congress during the late 1930s and early 1940s by the Temporary National Economic Committee and the United States National Resources Committee. For our purposes it is perhaps sufficient to list without comment certain of the key facts about the nature of American business organization which such reports reveal.

- 1 In 1933 the 594 largest corporations, representing 1.5 percent of the total number of American corporations, "owned 53.2 percent of all corporate assets and produced 18.4 percent of the nation's income."
- 2 For the period 1930-1933, 80 percent of all corporate net income was received by from 6 to 7 percent of the corporations.
- 3 In 1939, the 200 largest nonfinancial corporations controlled roughly 60 percent of the physical assets of all nonfinancial corporations, "between 46 and 51 percent of the nation's industrial wealth, and between 19 and 21 percent of its total wealth."
- 4 "One tenth of 1 percent of these concerns [corporations] owned 52

⁴ Newton Edwards and Herman G. Richey, *The School in the American Social Order* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin 1947) p. 506. Used by permission.

percent of the assets of all those in the group and realized 50 percent of all the profits "

5. ' In 82 industries in 1933 only 16 percent of the firms employed 37.5 percent of the workers. In 46 of these industries, the 6 largest concerns had more than one half the employees
6. "In 1935, the 200 largest manufacturing corporations produced nearly 38 percent, by value, of the total output of such concerns
7. In 1935, of the 3,544 directorships in the 200 largest nonfinancial and the 50 largest financial corporations nearly one third were occupied by 400 persons. Two hundred and twenty five of these 250 corporations were in some degree interlocked with others in this group

It is possible to continue this analysis at considerable length, with data disclosing the degree of concentration in stock ownership, in the actual production of goods, in the tendency to stabilize and control prices, in market sharing practices, and so on. It is customary to consider these situations as primarily characteristic of such industries as steel fabrication, railroad transportation, or oil refining. It is well to note their presence in the less dramatic fields as well. For example,

There is a high degree of concentration in the sale of common brick in New York, Philadelphia, Washington, San Francisco, and Los Angeles, and in the sale of doors, frames, sash, and other planing mill products in Chicago, Milwaukee, Kansas City, Seattle and Tacoma, San Francisco, and Los Angeles. Among 12,000 towns and cities in the United States in 1936, 75 percent had only one bank, 18 percent had only 2 banks, 6 percent had only 3, 4, or 5 banks, and only 1 percent had 6 or more. Half of the bankers faced no competition in their communities, a quarter of them had only one competitor, and only 5 percent of them had 5 or more. In many cities the distribution of milk is in the hands of a few large firms. Data for 34 urban areas, in some year between 1929 and 1939 [show] that 2 distributors handled approximately half of the milk sold in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, Boston, Pittsburgh, San Francisco, Milwaukee, and Youngstown, two thirds of that sold in Baltimore and nine tenths of that sold in Akron, and that one distributor handled more than a third of the milk sold in Pittsburgh, Milwaukee, and Salt Lake City, half of that sold in Baltimore, Washington, Akron, and Richmond, and two thirds of that sold in Madison. Many of these local distributors are controlled, in turn,

by one or the other of the two large holding companies that operate on a national scale. Subsidiaries of these concerns handled half or more than half of the milk distributed in 9 of the cities on the list.⁵

That this is, then, a key feature of the current American economic scene is hardly debatable. As before, the big question is one of degree and can only be considered relatively. To what extent does such concentration tend to curtail or inhibit genuine economic competition and to produce undesirable trade or industrial monopolies? To what extent, and specifically where, are such monopolies undesirable and unhealthy, where, on the other hand, is monopoly clearly beneficial and economically efficient? As concentration of ownership or of productive capacity tends to result in ever increasing corporate size, what is the net effect on American life generally of the presence of 'big' business enterprise? Clearly, such questions as these are hardly susceptible of categorical answers and we are required to construct our answers only in terms of the over all social effects of these phenomena. To condemn concentration or business 'bigness' out of hand, or to glorify monopoly as necessarily and inevitably more efficient, is to attempt to determine economic policies or standards in a social vacuum. That this has all too frequently been the case accounts in no small degree for the misunderstandings which have arisen out of the great economic debate mentioned earlier. Again, the educational implications of this situation are obvious. Decisions on such questions as these will inevitably affect matters of school policy. The school must examine and tackle such questions as these critically and with insight in order that society be better prepared to reach the decisions it will inevitably be called upon to make. In the area of economic activity perhaps more significantly than anywhere else, the role of the school in a democracy is most clearly seen.

Business Ownership of Communications Media. Another vital feature of the American business scene, and one whose significance for education is immeasurable, is the fact of the relationship between busi-

⁵ Clair Wilcox *Competition and Monopoly in American Industry* Monograph No. 21 of the *Investigation of Concentration of Economic Power* (Temporary National Economic Committee 76th Congress Washington 1941), p. 120. The data in this section are all from the same source.

ness ownership and the control of the various media of communication. It is quite impossible to state that such and such a percentage of the communications field is controlled by the business community or even that this or that agency of communication is dominated by corporate power. It is possible to point to radio stations or newspapers which are owned by a company or a business organization but it is not so clear the extent to which the station or the newspaper is the voice of its parent. We cannot, therefore, cite statistics to make a case for the presence or absence of industrial or special interest control over the media of communication. That some degree of such control or its potential at least, is a considerable feature of contemporary business life seems a warrantable generalization. There would appear to be at least three ways in which a close relationship can and often does obtain between a communications medium and business enterprise. In the first place, and most commonly, there is the obvious and ever present dependence of the most pervasive media—radio and TV, newspapers, and the magazines—upon advertising. Undeniably these media as we now know them would cease to exist were they to be deprived of their advertising revenues. As Ernst writes: "Newspaper prices have little relationship to circulation. This is true because as readers of papers we do not pay for our papers when we buy them. The cost of newspapers is subsidized by advertisers which means that we pay for our newspapers by indirection—that is every time we buy a cake of soap, a tin of tooth paste, an auto or a pair of shoes."⁶ The same is true of the radio, television and most of the magazines. It would be grossly erroneous, however, to conclude that these media are nothing but the agents of the advertisers. There is abundant evidence to the contrary. Nevertheless, sometimes subtly, oftentimes not so subtly, the policies of advertisers have tended to dominate the operations of editors and broadcasters. When further, the advertisement becomes—as increasingly since the war—a vehicle for the expression of private opinions, there is clearly a source of considerable threat to our cherished freedom of the press.

In the second place, there is the control or ownership of communi-

⁶ Morris I. Ernst *The First Freedom* (New York: Macmillan, 1946) p. 43. Used by permission.

cations agencies by closely related business or industrial interests. The relationship between the two major broadcasting networks and the major producers of radio phonographs, phonograph records, and other electronic equipment is perhaps the clearest example. Similarly, the close tie up which frequently obtains between the producers of wood pulp and newsprint and the newspaper or magazine publishers illustrates the point. Again, the degree of influence over editorial policy and free expression is not susceptible to measurement but that the potential of control is present seems hardly to be denied.

In the third place, there are those journals, broadcasting stations, or other organs which are owned outright by business and professional interests of one kind or another. Leading department stores, automobile sales agencies, hotels, and newspapers are frequently owners of radio and television stations, as are individual manufacturing or producing concerns. (A complete picture would include, also, the churches, labor organizations, and public jurisdictions which maintain broadcasting and publishing outlets.) Admittedly, the matter of the expense of establishing and maintaining such enterprises, which was noted in the last chapter, severely limits the opportunity to engage in the communications business. It is nevertheless a fact that a significant portion of this industry is owned and operated by or in close conjunction with major American business interests.

It is not our purpose either to exalt or to decry this situation, as before, such an evaluation can be intelligent only as it exhaustively analyzes the impact of this phenomenon on the entire social fabric. It is our intent, however, to point again to the unmistakable implications of this situation for the conduct of education and to insist that American teachers, and through them, their students, become intelligently aware of the conditions surrounding the schools. Only thus can the schools cultivate the intelligence essential to the development of sound public (and, incidentally, educational) policy.

Business and Local Boards of Education. One further aspect of the contemporary business scene which has a more immediate and personal bearing upon the conduct of education remains to be considered. That is the degree to which the conduct of education is itself directly influenced by the business community. As we have seen, basic educational

policy for the public schools of the country is determined in large part at the local level. Specifically, the district boards of education or boards of school trustees are the final arbiters in matters of school development. It is revealing and significant, therefore, to discover who actually serves on school boards, to understand the socioeconomic composition of such bodies.

This is not an area in which extensive investigations have been made. The major study, until very recently, was one conducted in the early and middle 1920s by George S. Counts. Counts surveyed the membership of 1,654 public boards of education—at the district, city, county, and state levels, and also those boards responsible for state colleges and universities. Of these, 974 were rural district boards and 532 were city boards of education, thus a wide and representative sampling was obtained. For our purposes here the following findings of the Counts survey seem significant.⁷

1. The representation of women on the nation's school boards amounted to 10.2 percent of the total membership of such boards. In rural

OCCUPATIONS OF MALE MEMBERS OF PUBLIC BOARDS OF EDUCATION IN THE
UNITED STATES
(In percentages) 1926

Occupation	District Board	City Board	All Boards
Proprietors	2	32	21
Professional service	1	30	29
Managerial service	*	14	5
Commercial service	*	6	2
Clerical service	*	6	2
Manual labor	1	8	3
Agriculture	95	2	30
Ex officio	0	*	7
Unknown	1	2	1

* In these categories at least one member was reported but the percentage figure was under 1 percent.

⁷ See George S. Counts, *The Social Composition of Boards of Education: A Study in the Social Control of Public Education* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927), p. 52. Used by permission.

Table 191 THE OCCUPATIONS OF SCHOOL BOARD MEMBERS

Occupation group	Total frequency	Percent in each occupation group	Rank by frequency			Percent in each occupation group by type of district							
			Boards of all types	City boards	Noncity boards	City school districts			Noncity districts				
						Over 100 000	30 000 100 000	2 500 30 000	Below 2 500	County parish	Rural	Town (N. Eng. type)	Other noncity
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Proprietors and executives	4 161	28	1	1	2	33	35	38	25	28	7	18	27
Trimmers	4 110	27	2	3	1	1	1	4	36	39	84	18	29
Professionals	2 288	15	3	2	3	37	26	21	11	12	1	16	11
Housewives	1 031	7	4	5	1	11	10	7	5	3	3	22	6
Technical and supervisory workers	945	6	5	4	5	5	9	9	3	6	1	6	6
General business managers	799	5	6	6	6	3	7	7	5	3	1	5	6
Craftsmen and skilled workmen	508	3	7	8	7	3	4	4	3	2	1	5	5
Clerical workers	446	3	8	7	9	4	3	4	3	2	•	3	3
Unskilled laborers	398	3	9	10	8	1	2	2	7	3	2	2	4
Salesmen	363	2	10	9	10	2	3	3	1	1	•	4	2
Protective and personal service	80	1	11	11	11	•	•	1	1	1	•	1	1
Total	15 129	100	—	—	—	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

* Less than 0.5 percent

Source: Status and Practices of Boards of Education, Research Bulletin of the National Education Association, Vol. XXIV, No. 2 (April 1946), Table 7. Used by permission.

- school districts, only 62 percent of board members were women, on city boards of education, 143 percent of the members were women
- 2 Of the women board members, 75 percent were housewives, the remaining 25 percent came predominantly from teaching and social work
- 3 Among the male members, the largest percentage—30 percent—were farmers, 29 percent were listed as in the professions, 21 percent were classed as proprietors (among these were included bankers, brokers, druggists hotel owners, laundry owners, manufacturers, mine owners, publishers, and many others)

A similar study was conducted under the auspices of the National Education Association during the mid 1940s Based upon returns from nearly three fourths of the nation's elementary- and secondary school districts, this investigation, the results of which are presented in Table 191 on page 416, represents a sampling nearly twice as extensive as the Counts survey 1,608 noncity and 1,460 city districts Again, the significant disclosures for consideration here are the following ⁸

- 1 One school board member in ten was a woman The more rural the community, the smaller was the ratio of women to men—whereas 18 percent of board members in cities over 100,000 were women, in county and parish jurisdictions only 4 percent, and in ordinary rural districts only 9 per cent, were women
- 2 While 10 percent of the membership was female, housewives accounted for but 7 percent of the total, thus the remaining women (3 percent) were scattered among the various occupations but the survey did not distinguish between men and women in these categories
- 3 For all boards, proprietors and executives accounted for 28 percent of the membership, farmers for 27 percent, and the professions for 15 percent Housewives, with 7 percent, stood next in order of numbers

While a comparison between the two studies would be interesting—showing for example, that the place of women on school boards has not grown since the 1920s—it is more germane to this chapter to note the clear occupational patterns which both studies indicate Unmis

⁸ Status and Practices of Boards of Education *Research Bulletin* of the National Education Association Vol XXIV No 2 (April 1946) p 76 Used by permission

takably, the business and professional classes have increased their overall representation on the nation's school boards to the point where, in all but the truly rural districts, they constitute better than half the total membership. If the occupational designations of the two surveys are identical—and they seem to be nearly so—the places of manual labor, clerical workers, and housewives remain substantially unchanged. The farmer, while still in nearly complete control of rural school boards, has suffered an over all decline from 30 to 27 percent. Even in the rural areas a 10 percent drop is apparent.

Thus, to return to the original line of the discussion, it is rather clear that the business community has assumed a commanding position in the administration of American education. If we include even a small part of the housewife, supervisory, and managerial classes, from 28 to perhaps 40 percent of school board membership is taken from among business people. It is only logical to assume that the predilections, the concerns, the philosophy of American business life will loom large in the determination of school policy. Such a finding means to some that the schools are placed "in the hands of a privileged economic minority" which by virtue of its position will resist change and hold fast to "tried and true" programs and policies. "Others will interpret it merely as evidence that communities tend to select *leaders* for school board service—men and women who have demonstrated their competence in some area of achievement such as outstanding success in their respective vocations"⁹ No understanding of the interrelationships of American business and American education would be complete, or even valid, without an awareness of the role played by business people in the direction of the nation's schools.

The Educational Efforts of Organized Business

There would seem to be three primary ways in which organized business can be said to be directly engaged in programs of education. First, business is necessarily and continually faced with the task of teaching its own personnel, business obviously must take the respon-

⁹ *Status and Practices of Boards of Education*, op. cit., p. 53

sibility for inducting new employees into its activities and for providing avenues of personal advancement through continued technical and professional training. Second, business, like any other institution in a democratic society, has the right and the responsibility of presenting its case to the public. Business is heavily engaged, therefore, in a program of educating the public to the acceptance of certain points of view and the rejection of others. While some, impugning the motives of business in such efforts, will prefer to label them propaganda, others will insist that sound public relations require a dynamic and functioning educational program sponsored by organized business. Third, business is actively concerned about the conduct of American education generally, both public and private, and has in recent years taken definite positions with regard to a number of significant educational issues. Business influence of this sort is especially to be felt at the level of district school board operation. However, business as a national institution has come to feel certain clear-cut responsibilities toward education, and these are being ever more vigorously expressed.

These activities can perhaps be said to be conducted essentially through two avenues. In the first place, these educational efforts are organized and maintained by individual business concerns, large and small, as integral aspects of the total economic enterprise. Second and in some instance perhaps more important, such educational activities are administered by large national business associations which, indeed, might be said to exist chiefly for their educational value. We should examine briefly the nature and organization of the major business associations because of the central role they play in conducting the educational programs which have business sponsorship.

Four types of business associations are most prominent both in their economic influences and in their impact upon public policy generally. There are, first, the various local or city associations of employers—a Waterfront Employers' Association or a Retail Merchants' League are examples. Then, at the state level stand associations of manufacturers or businessmen, normally organized along industrial lines. At the national level are found industrial associations which represent particular industries for the country at large—the Association of American Railroads, the American Meat Institute, and the Iron and Steel Insti-

tute are typical of this type of organization. Finally, bringing all industrial and business interests together for the advancement of common concerns are the two major national organizations—the National Association of Manufacturers and the United States Chamber of Commerce. Our discussion of the educational efforts of organized business will be confined to the programs and practices of the individual companies and of these two national associations for, in large part, they illustrate pretty substantially the over all patterns of business activity in education.

The Educational Activities of Individual Companies. It is probably true to say that every business concern is, in effect, an educational institution. The larger the company, the more likely it is that a deliberate, formally organized educational program will be developed, but inevitably each business, no matter how small, must engage to train its personnel and must give some attention to its public relations. While our discussion and our illustrations will concentrate on the more elaborate and spectacular efforts of the larger companies, it is clear that the same practices will be found in miniature all through the business system.

EDUCATION WITHIN INDUSTRY. A large number of programs are in operation within individual companies which are designed to train company personnel. While the major emphasis in such programs is the preparation of skilled workmen (for example, machine operators, salesmen, truck drivers, or junior executives), there is inherent in any such program a point of view, a set of attitudes, a philosophy. This is to say that industrial education is not now, if it ever was purely vocational training, increasingly it has come to involve broader cultural emphases geared to the needs and policies of the sponsoring company. Typical of these activities are the programs of vocational education designed to develop skilled craftsmen or mechanics but which, as for example in the Ford Motor Company, are combined with a degree of academic education. Analogous to these are the programs for the training of apprentices in the various crafts, for the control of which business and organized labor have struggled bitterly in the past. This very struggle was waged largely because of the potential in such a program for the inculcation of ideas and attitudes regarding the busi-

ness system and the role of organized labor in the system. Similar in nature are the courses of study which have been set up for training plant foremen. Even more clearly genuine educational endeavors are the "company colleges" which have developed with great rapidity over the past two decades. Such firms as the General Motors Company, Standard Oil of New Jersey, Johns Manville, and International Business Machines have organized extensive curricula generally at a collegiate level or higher, for the instruction of junior executives, the managerial and the top clerical personnel. Such 'colleges' are much more than job training agencies. They go far beyond the mechanics and techniques of particular business positions and deal extensively in the general fields of history, economics, government, sociology, and the like.

ADVERTISING AS EDUCATION No one can be unfamiliar with the efforts of individual companies to educate the public. It has been said that nothing in American life is so omnipresent as commercial advertising, indeed, there is considerable evidence to support the thesis that, possibly excepting certain aspects of Hollywoodiana, nothing is so well known in the United States as the leading brand names. Commercial advertising is designed to sell merchandise or services, the products of American business. American advertising, especially since World War II, when shortages of civilian goods forced a curtailment of advertising to sell, has grown increasingly ideological. That is to say that much of contemporary American advertising is at best trying to sell specific products only by indirection, and is concentrating its major efforts on selling ideas and philosophical orientations. Both the direct and the indirect kind are educational, or "miseducational," but it is doubtless the latter (the indirect) type which comes closer to illustrating the company in-education. When a large manufacturer interrupts the broadcast symphony or dramatic production which he sponsors to present a brief discussion, not of his merchandise, but of his philosophy, it is hardly to be denied that he is attempting to educate the public. Or when great banks or life insurance companies buy strategically placed newspaper or magazine space in which to elaborate, not on matters fiscal, but on matters moral and political, again there is educational potential of immeasurable dimensions. This is not the place

to debate the desirability or the healthfulness of such a phenomenon for a democratic society. But it is clear that a company selling goods or guides to the American people through the mass media of communication is actively engaged in the business of educating the public.

Beyond these efforts, various companies organize extensive programs which are admittedly educational in nature and intent. Many concerns publish materials of all sorts for public use, not the least of which are materials specifically designed for use in the nation's schools. Among these are motion pictures, pamphlet series, models, charts, graphs, slides, even volumes of the comic book type, most of which deal dispassionately and in detail with various aspects of American life. For example, an electric power company will produce films on forest and soil conservation, a bus company produces travel films, or an oil company sponsors the production of movies dealing with petroleum geology and the processes of oil refining. Such materials are made freely available and are very widely used, both in schools and elsewhere. Companies, then, are deliberately participating in the conduct of formal education. They have in this activity a vital stake and a tremendous challenge.

Intangible and certainly not susceptible of any specific measurement is the influence which individual companies may exert over the editorial policies of newspapers, magazines, or the radio. As was noted in the preceding chapter, it is impossible to state with any degree of accuracy the extent to which the communications agencies are owned and/or controlled by outside business concerns. That such influences have been operative in a large number of instances is a matter of record, that, by and large, the communications field is growing more independent of industrial or commercial domination is by no means as clear. It would seem fair to state, in any event, that in a number of cases the educational interests and endeavors of individual companies carry over into the pronouncements and policies of press and radio that editorials, news commentary, and even news reporting will frequently reflect the concerns of companies in their efforts to educate either their own personnel or the public generally.

BUSINESS AND THE CONDUCT OF EDUCATION. Individual companies are not very often found officially advocating particular positions with

regard to general educational policy. Frequently a business leader will state his preference for one or another program or proposal but he speaks as an individual, not as the official representative of his firm. In general, the matter of presenting and representing the views of business on questions of educational policy is left to the national associations, to which we turn shortly. To be sure, the very nature of the materials prepared by the companies for school use indicates a belief that particular curricular emphases or methodological approaches are, in the eyes of those companies, more desirable. Certain attitudes or a particular philosophy of life may be implicit in a company's donated teaching aids, it is reasonable to assume that the company hopes that these or consonant attitudes will find expression in public policy, including educational policy.

An additional interpretation of the role of individual business concerns in the conduct of education has begun to take shape. In January 1951 Frank W. Abrams, Chairman of the Board, Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, exemplified this new approach as he announced the adoption of a new company policy which could have a profound effect upon the American educational system. Speaking before a meeting of the National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools, and noting the inescapable dependence of business upon education—both for production and for markets—he called for the development of "corporate citizenship" with regard to education.

It has become clear to many men of management that such broad questions as education are matters with which corporate citizens, as well as individuals, have the obligation to concern themselves.

Accordingly, our board of directors has adopted the following statement which is being brought to the attention of our employees:

"The importance of our public school system to the growth, prosperity, peace, and security of our country can scarcely be overestimated at any time. Its significance is never more apparent than in times of emergency. At times like these the relationship between freedom and a literate and educated population is thrown into clear focus."

"American business enterprise is aware of its great debt to the public school system of this country, because that system is essential to the survival and growth of business."

"The right and duty of the individual to support our public school system is clear. One such duty is, of course, that of paying taxes. But it seems to us clear that the obligation of each of us as an individual runs beyond mere payment of taxes.

*"Over the years many Jersey Standard employees have participated actively in their local school programs. The company would like to see more of its people take an active interest in the problems and opportunities facing the public schools in their own communities. Obviously the conditions affecting the individual's ability to participate in school activities will vary, but our company encourages its employees as good American citizens, to undertake this important work."*¹⁰

This ringing call for active participation in local educational affairs is typical of the attitude toward school support which has come to characterize a significant segment of American business. Illustrative of even deeper involvement in these matters was an action recently taken by the International Paper Company. Anxious that the schools in the towns where its mills were located be of the highest order, the company—on its own initiative and entirely at its own expense—retained a staff of professional educational consultants. These were to advise the management as to how it might more effectively contribute to the improvement of those schools. The local school districts have in the process benefited from expert surveys of their situations quite by courtesy of the company. Instances of mutually beneficial relationships of this kind could be multiplied many times.

More prominent, and probably potentially even more important, is the growing willingness of business and industry to establish collegiate scholarship programs and to contribute to the support of institutions of higher learning, especially the independent colleges and universities. The years following the war dramatized both the dependence of the business community upon such institutions for the supply of future business leadership and the need of private institutions for increased nongovernmental financial assistance if they were to maintain their

¹⁰ Frank W. Abrams, Chairman of the Board, Standard Oil Company (N.J.), *The Stake of Business in Public Education*, an address before the National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools, Cleveland, Ohio, Jan. 12, 1951, pp. 9-11. Published by the Commission, New York. Used by permission.

independence. The results have been altogether heartening and remarkable. A great many corporations (for example, Ford, General Motors, Union Carbide, Standard Oil of New Jersey) have established individual company programs, involving both scholarships and aid to institutions. Perhaps the most notable development of all is the organization in 1954 and 1955 of the National Merit Scholarship Corporation. Initiated through grants from the Ford and Carnegie foundations, the program was set up to encourage business, industry, labor, and other interested groups to contribute toward scholarships for talented youth. During the spring of 1956, under the auspices of this body, several hundred thousand high school seniors from more than 10,000 high schools competed for the 500 available four-year awards. There is little doubt that a new and very important element has here been added to the American educational scene.

Business Associations and Education. The two national business associations previously mentioned—the National Association of Manufacturers and the United States Chamber of Commerce—are unquestionably the major spokesmen for American business on educational (as on most other public) questions. Their methods are not markedly different from those just described for individual companies but their influence is profound; many would concede that no other organizations in our national life are as powerful. The National Association of Manufacturers, founded in 1895, has a membership of approximately 7,500 of the country's leading industrialists. This membership represents a very small percentage of the total number of American manufacturers but a subsidiary of the N.A.M., the National Industrial Council, includes about 80 percent of the entire manufacturing activity of the nation. Thus the N.A.M. represents all but a relatively unimportant segment of American manufacturing enterprise. The organization's constitution clearly indicates the educational nature of its objectives:

The general objects and purposes for which the said corporation is formed are the promotion of the industrial interests of the United States, the betterment of the relations between employer and employees, the education of the public in the principles of individual liberty and the

ownership of property, the support of legislation in furtherance of those principles and opposition to legislation in derogation thereof¹¹

The United States Chamber of Commerce, founded in 1912 with the assistance of the N.A.M., serves as the spokesman for all American business. Its membership comprises some 1,500 commercial organizations and trade associations, including local and state Chambers of Commerce, and thus includes most of the major mercantile and commercial as well as manufacturing concerns of the nation. The Chamber's conception of its function in American life has been stated as being

To obtain the matured judgment of business upon national questions, and to present and interpret those views to the agencies of government and to the public¹²

As with the N.A.M., so too the Chamber of Commerce sees its prime object in what are unquestionably educational terms.

These two organizations and their counterparts within specific industries conduct their educational operations along the same three avenues as do the individual companies. They are constantly engaged in educating their membership. Through the use of regular bulletins, research reports, conferences, and the like, members are kept abreast of significant developments in the world of business. These associations are responsible for promoting among their memberships basic understandings on economic issues and of effecting, when the situation seems to demand it, a united business front on questions of fundamental policy. Both organizations, but especially the N.A.M., sponsor extremely elaborate programs of economic education for use in the nation's schools. Available from the N.A.M. are numerous pamphlets, films, and other teaching aids, expertly and handsomely produced, avowedly designed to foster support for a particular point of view. General reports of researches, statistical surveys, and the like are regularly released to the press and the public.

¹¹ Quoted in Robert A. Brady *Business as a System of Power* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), p. 192. Italics my own.

¹² Quoted in Edwards and Richey *The School in the American Social Order* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1935), p. 510.

Operations directed at influencing the determination of public educational policy seem, until recently, to have been left pretty much to the Chamber of Commerce. Perhaps because of its greater size and more representative character, its clear contact with "grass roots" business sentiment, the Chamber is the more logical or appropriate body to concern itself with school questions. Over the past twenty years, it has grown increasingly active on the matter of declaring itself with regard to the larger national educational issues. This has been particularly noteworthy in the area of federal aid to education—a policy to which the Chamber has repeatedly stated its opposition.¹³ Equally vehement, however, and indeed complementary to its stand on the federal aid question, has been the Chamber's insistence that American education requires *increased* financial support at the state and local levels¹⁴ and that *American business has a stake in public education* which can hardly be measured.

In the expression of such concerns, the Chamber of Commerce was joined, in 1954, by the National Association of Manufacturers with the issuance of a statement entitled *This We Believe About Education*.¹⁵ This document was prepared in an effort to clarify and improve relations between industrial and educational leaders. Its strengths and merits lie in the expression of sober appreciation for the place of an educational enterprise in a society characterized by representative government and a free economy. One excerpt must suffice to suggest its nature and its importance:

Since Industry looks to the influence of Education for developing interest in improved living standards, with correspondingly expanded markets (the second consideration), Industry has an obligation to be intelligently aware of what educators are doing and trying to do. It is probably true that the average businessman knows more about current activities in the stock market, in big league baseball, in the movie and

¹³ See various *Governmental Affairs Bulletins* of the United States Chamber of Commerce.

¹⁴ See, for example, *Committee on Education Education—An Investment in People* (Washington D. C. United States Chamber of Commerce 1953).

¹⁵ Educational Advisory Committee and Educational Advisory Council. National Association of Manufacturers. *This We Believe About Education: a Statement Concerning Education in America* (New York: N.A.M. February 1954).

entertainment world, and even among prize fighters, than he does about the personnel, methods, objectives, and comparative standing of the public school system in his home town. To the extent that this indifference is obvious to teachers, they turn less and less for guidance to the communities they serve. It is the duty of industrialists to have a viewpoint, based on factual information, regarding the educational goals and practices of both the public and private institutions of learning in their communities, and to make that viewpoint known for the benefit and encouragement of everybody concerned.

An obvious complementary duty is to give educators better and more attractive opportunities to get acquainted with Industry. Many teachers while recognizing Industry as vital in the world in which they live and about which they teach, have little or no knowledge of industrial problems or the contributions of Industry to public well being beyond what they have learned from books. To them, production lines, inventories, amortization, reinvestment, retooling, packaging, distribution, labor relations, risk capital, and even industrial competition are abstract terms not palpable things and never finished problems to be struggled with daily in order to supply the products the people take for granted.

The unfamiliarity of educators with what industrialists are doing and are trying to do undoubtedly is as great as Industry's unawareness of Education's problems, objectives, and accomplishments. Industry must constantly take the initiative to overcome apathetic and harmful aloofness, wherever it may appear. It is imperative that American industry, justifiably believing in the necessity, the efficiency, and the sociological soundness of its operations, should have both the enlightened criticism and confident moral support of Education. It is largely educators who appraise for young people the social system they are about to inherit. If the appraisal of Industry is to be based on sound knowledge, actual observation, and shared experience, Industry must maintain a continuous open house to Education and make its hospitality evident and sincere.¹⁶

As educational questions of a national character inevitably continue to loom larger, it is certain that American business will grow ever more active and vocal in expressing its educational opinions. In a democracy this is as it should be, provided all interested parties receive an equal "day in court" and, to paraphrase Mr. Abrams, sound business citizenship demands nothing less. The responsibility that rests

¹⁶ *Ibid* 20-21 Used by permission

on the shoulders of these two powerful business associations for the continued progress of American education is immense. The potential returns from responsible, enlightened organizational policy in the form of improved individual and social well being are incalculable.

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The implications of all of this for educators and the general citizenry should be rather clear and easily defined. Both must recognize that much effort, expense, and systematic preparation are being put into educational activities under the auspices of American business. The educator is called upon to operate in full awareness of the character and motivations of these efforts and to capitalize upon them. He is, as these efforts increase, called upon to examine them ever more critically, albeit honestly, to discover their value and usefulness to the total educational endeavor. To damn the educational efforts of business simply because of their origin (as is all too frequently the practice) is as unintelligent and unfair as it is unwise to accept and applaud such efforts because of their dramatic excitement, their sheen, or their color (as it is all too easy to do). And the citizen, particularly the business man, must recognize both the power and the responsibility which rest in his hands. He in the final analysis determines educational policy, and he must make absolutely certain that the companies or associations which represent him actually speak for him and in accord with his principles. Only thus are we true to the spirit of democracy and the basic premises of public education.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

BASIC QUESTION What is the responsibility of the educator—administrator or teacher—in meeting the demands of groups of citizens regarding the conduct of the schools? Should school policy be determined ultimately by the dominant pressures in the community?

- 1 Is it wise or proper for teachers to use educational materials designed and provided by interest groups, especially private business organizations? Are there potential dangers involved in such a practice, and, if so, do the benefits outweigh the hazards?

- 2 How would you define the stake of business in the health of American education?
- 3 The official attitudes of organized business with regard to the conduct of public education have undergone appreciable change in the past quarter-century. How do the stands of such bodies as the National Association of Manufacturers or the United States Chamber of Commerce on significant educational issues compare with their positions in 1940, 1935, or 1920? How do you account for these changes?
- 4 Why is it vital for American business to contribute to the support of private education, especially at the collegiate level, inasmuch as, through taxes, it already helps maintain the public institutions? Is there a special reciprocal relationship between private business and privately supported education?
- 5 One aspect of the new nation wide scholarship plans which causes concern to some is the utilization of a national testing program for selection of the grantees. What are the potential dangers in such a practice and what steps, if any, can be taken to minimize the hazards?
- 6 Examine the advertising in some of the more popular current magazines. To what extent are these peddling merchandise only? To what extent are they attempting to sell ideas about basic social or political issues? Describe and analyze what you consider some outstanding examples of advertising as social propaganda. In how far do you consider such practices legitimate and justifiable?

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CHAPTER 20

Organized Labor and Education

AMONG THE FORCES which impinge upon the conduct of American education, organized labor is surely one of the most influential and vigorous. Like organized business, labor has a stake in the educational program and a vital interest in the attitudes and points of view which that program fosters. While the educational efforts of organized labor may not be so lavish or so subtle, so artistic or so polished, as those of organized business, they are in many instances at least as effective; one has only to note the current status of organized labor to find striking evidence of the effectiveness of labor's efforts in educating the American public. It is the province of this chapter to look briefly at labor's efforts to educate or to influence the conduct of the nation's schools.

Highpoints in the History of the American Labor Movement

The character of current labor activities in the field of education can best be described in the perspective afforded by an awareness of the salient events in labor's history. While some hold that the origins of organized labor are to be found in the medieval craft guilds (others maintain that these guilds were the forerunners of manufacturers' associations), it is reasonably certain that organizations of workmen were not influential in American affairs until the second quarter of the

nineteenth century Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., in his study of *The Age of Jackson*, attributes to the labor unions then forming in the cities of the eastern seaboard a considerable contribution to Jackson's election in 1828 and 1832. Despite serious setbacks as a result of the panic of 1837, organized labor had gained a sizable degree of recognition by 1842. In that year, in what have proved to be epoch making decisions, the Massachusetts courts held that labor unions were legal associations, that they did not, as was the conventional charge, constitute conspiracies against employers.

Even with such decisions, labor's struggle for status and recognition was long and bitter, but the industrial concentrations of the Civil War and the years following encouraged unionization. As men gathered in increasing numbers at steel mills, shoe factories, or railroad yards organization for mutual benefit and protection was natural and inevitable. Ever stronger local union activity was to be seen, and this in turn made easier and more effective subsequent efforts at national organization.

Among the first truly national attempts at labor organization was the establishment in 1866 of the National Labor Union. This association of 600,000 members from all sorts of laboring groups was not strong and was short lived. But it seems to have demonstrated something of the need for and the validity of more broadly based labor activity. The Knights of Labor followed in 1869, with a larger, more representative, and more aggressive membership, this organization dominated American labor during the 1870's. Its opposition to the strike and its attempts to take direct political action, plus a certain curious mystical and ritualistic character in its operation, contributed to dissatisfaction and defection among the membership. While the Knights of Labor never fully used the power which was inherent in the organization the power that lay latent in American labor was clearly and dramatically illustrated.

Apparently profiting from the experience of its forerunners, the American Federation of Labor was founded in 1881 on somewhat different principles. Under the leadership for over forty years of Samuel Gompers, the AFL from its inception steadfastly disavowed the principle of close political affiliation or partisanship. The AFL was founded,

also, to promote organization of workingmen along *craft* lines—carpenters, bricklayers, upholsterers, bakers, and the like—to overcome the hazards which seemed to be inherent in a heterogeneous association. One of the “crafts” which has most recently affiliated with the AFL is that of the teacher; there are currently some 70,000 members, from kindergarten through university, of the American Federation of Teachers. The AFL has vigorously promoted the use of the strike and the methods of collective bargaining and has been unquestionably the key force in bringing about many much needed reforms in the conditions of work. Its size, approximately 11 million members, and its age have led many to regard the AFL as a relatively conservative interest group in American economic life.

As the AFL was founded out of dissatisfaction with the Knights of Labor, so too in 1936 a new labor organization was born out of discontent with the AFL. In that year a group of labor leaders seceded from the AFL to form an organization which would function not along craft lines but on an *industry wide* basis. Organization by crafts, it was argued, was too restricting and did not lend itself to certain of the major industries, steel, coal, automobiles, for example. Thus was born the Committee for Industrial Organization, a name later changed to the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and a measure of its appeal and effectiveness is to be seen in its 5,200,000 reported membership figure. The CIO, outspokenly partisan in political affairs, aggressive, dynamic, in an amazingly short time assumed a central place in the economic life of the nation.

Ever since the CIO secession, a major concern of the labor movement has been the matter of “labor unity.” Many in organized labor regarded the continuing split between the AFL and the CIO as a threat to the health and stability of the movement. Thus, insistent over several years was the call for a *uniting or combining of labor forces* and for an abandonment of close adherence to particular patterns of organization. With the emergence into the top echelons of union leadership of a new and younger generation of officials, the advantages of this position for organized labor were recognized. In December, 1955, the AFL and the CIO merged to form a new body, representing nearly 11 million members of the older organization and over 5 million from

the younger association That this event was a *most momentous* step in the history of American labor is unquestionable but the impact of this development upon American life generally, and education in particular, awaits the answers to at least two subsidiary questions First did this event signify a thoroughgoing amalgamation of the hitherto rival groups—a new union—or merely a merger, a larger federation? And second to the extent that this new organization is to operate unitarily, will it reflect (in the words of Alistair Cooke) the “conservative trade unionism” of the AFL or the “political evangelism” of the CIO?

With the addition of certain other labor organizations the picture is complete The United Mine Workers, under its leader, John L. Lewis, has been in and out of both the AFL and the CIO and currently operates independently of either Its 600,000 to 700,000 members, strategic as they are, occupy a uniquely powerful position in the economy So, too, do the ‘Big Four’ railway brotherhoods, some 500,000 locomotive engineers, firemen, brakemen, conductors, and the like Other independent unions, particularly the International Association of Machinists, claim a total membership of approximately 1.5 million There have been indications that, as a response to the AFL-CIO merger, the independents are beginning to associate for their protection and welfare It is estimated that anywhere from 2 to 6 million workers belong to unions which might join such a body

The details of the history of American labor since the turn of the century are, or should be, familiar to all The period has been one of continual struggle for improved working conditions a struggle on the one hand punctuated by bitter union-company warfare, strikes and lockouts, and lengthy court battles, but on the other hand a struggle which has resulted in increased mutual sympathy, understanding, and respect The struggle has borne tangible fruit as slow but sure and specific advances in the rights of labor both before the employer and before the law A partial citation of crucial legislation must suffice to underscore the point the Sherman Anti Trust Act in 1890 the establishment of a separate Department of Labor in the Federal government in 1913, the enactment of an eight hour-day law in 1916, the Norris La Guardia Anti Injunction Act in 1932, the famous Wagner

or Fair Labor Standards Act in 1938, the equally noteworthy and controversial Taft Hartley Act of 1948

That the place of organized labor in the affairs of the nation is an assured and established one is demonstrated by certain current trends in labor's activity. Today's major labor questions do not arise in such areas as the right to strike, the right to organize and bargain collectively, or the right to approach the workers in a plant. The pre-eminent concerns of organized labor today revolve not so much around 'fair wages or decent working conditions as around the problems of security and worker welfare. Contemporary collective bargaining is primarily involved with the establishment of a "guaranteed annual wage," of a pension plan, or of a scheme which maintains a sound relationship between wages and the cost of living. Ever more frequently, less central questions of general welfare—holidays, vacations, recreational facilities, and the like—have been features of bargaining sessions. For example, in one recent year there were at least twenty six major labor contracts negotiated which did not involve wage increases.

Another indication of the current status of organized labor is seen in the growing case that is presented for labor representation in the determination of public policy. Especially in recent years has the question of the extent of labor's participation in the actual administration of business and industry gained greater attention. Reference to the preceding chapter should highlight labor's concern at its lack of representation on the nation's school boards, the same point must be made with regard to the absence of spokesmen for labor on the boards of trustees for colleges and universities. One would be premature to speak of a trend toward increased labor representation on bodies of this sort, the data presented concerning the composition of boards of education seem to indicate the reverse. There is, however, a growing feeling that labor has come of age as a force in American society, that to continue to accord it less than the status and recognition it deserves is both unjust and unwise. Furthermore many are convinced that as labor's responsibilities in public life are increased, its *responsibility* as a social agency will also be enhanced. Clearly, one of the areas for which labor is peculiarly suited to shoulder such responsibility is public education.

Labor and Education

While a discussion of organized labor's efforts and influence in the realm of education can follow the same pattern employed in the examination of business and education just concluded, a basic dissimilarity should be noted. In the matter of the sponsorship of educational programs, for either the general public or the union membership, the union local is not a counterpart of a single company. One does not find, either on the part of a local, or indeed on the part of many national unions, the elaborate educational programs characteristic of such firms as General Motors or the Shell Oil Company. Programs of this scope are handled almost entirely at the level of federation, that is, by the national AFL or CIO organizations or jointly by the new partnership. To be sure, union locals will take part, and effectively, in educational activities at the local level, as when the local musicians' union joins with other groups in sponsoring concerts. But it seems fair to state that the most extensive and significant efforts of organized labor in the educational sphere are the national programs. It is to these that our major attention must be directed.

Education of the Membership Like any organization dedicated to a cause, a labor union depends for its very existence upon the effectiveness with which it communicates to its members. Over several decades unions have developed rather specialized techniques for such communication: the local unit itself, the union meetings which regularly broaden into regional and national conventions, the unique union officials (shop stewards, walking delegates, and the like) whose prime function is to serve as purveyors of information, and the increasingly elaborate union publications.

These patterns and procedures have grown ever more professional in tenor and form so that the educational efforts of labor take their place alongside those of business, religious groups, and other organized interests as vital vehicles in the over all educational picture. *Fortune* could report, for example, that one of the best popular guides to the interpretation of corporate financial statements was recently printed in an AFL journal and that excellent analyses of investment procedures

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sible understanding of this pattern in terms of the economic, political, cultural, and other forces of which it is fashioned and to which labor contributes a vital share

It was plausible, then, that new labor schools should be formed or old ones expanded, and that unions should begin to build educational departments of their own. A few such departments, to be sure, existed even before the founding of Brookwood [an early labor school]. Nevertheless, workers' education as a national movement has now reached the stage where it is estimated that several hundred thousand organized workers are participating in some program. That this number will increase as facilities permit seems a foregone conclusion. Here, indeed, is a new frontier in education.²

Out of new and ever more complex conditions, there have developed sizable programs sponsored by organized labor for the education of union members. Many such schools are of relatively long standing like that instituted by the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union. Today all branches of labor have undertaken to provide and promote such programs, thus the Workers' Education Bureau of the AFL and the CIO Educational Department, as well as the leading independent unions are now engaged in year round educational operations.

The following excerpts are from a report on the current activities in workers' education which was prepared by two officials of the AFL Workers' Education Bureau. They serve to illustrate both the scope and the character of these programs.

Our unions are now aware of the great need for a more complete workers' education program to develop among the rank and file stronger support for their unions, train new officials for union duty, and provide the technical skills and intellectual foundation needed to withstand the daily assaults made on labor by anti union forces.

Through the Workers' Education Bureau of the AFL, the CIO Educational Department, and the various international unions, year round programs of education on all levels are being developed. Classes, institutes, conferences, and schools are becoming a familiar part of the union's daily life.

² Theodore Brameld, *Ends and Means in Education: a Mid-Century Appraisal* (New York, Harper, 1950), p. 132. Used by permission.

appeared elsewhere in the labor press.¹ Few would deny, to go a step further, that some of the most cogent and vigorous editorializing in the nation today appears in the several house organs of labor, such as the AFL-CIO *American Federationist* (successor to the *American Federationist* (AFL) and the *CIO News*) or the *United Mine Workers Journal*. In brief, the education of the rank and file is a central feature, an indispensable feature, of the activities of union labor today. It would be difficult, and for our purposes it does not seem too important, to attempt to determine the proportion of this endeavor which is carried predominantly by the local units. It is probably safe to assume that while, necessarily, most of the actual "teaching and learning" proceeds at the grass roots, most of the direction and content is suggested if not supplied from higher echelons.

To supplement the various means by which organized labor carries on a program of mass education, special and more intensive educational patterns are emerging under the general label of "workers' education." To some, this constitutes one of the most significant and potentially fruitful current developments in both labor and education. It is a noteworthy example of the degree to which these two areas are mutually involved. The place and function of workers' education are well described by Brameld:

For a number of reasons . . . workers' education on a national scale has developed in earnest only within about the past decade and a half. Most important of these reasons is the tremendous growth of the trade union movement. Thus there arose, with new and old unions alike, sudden pressing problems of such complexity as to tax and sometimes to bewilder their most seasoned leaders—problems both of internal organization and of external relationships with other unions, employers, and government. To meet these problems, rank-and-file members as well as leaders required immediate knowledge of parliamentary law, labor legislation, and other practical necessities. But many of them saw, too, that such necessities were not enough, that their great unwieldy organizations were inescapably tied up with the whole pattern of democracy—that their ultimate defeat or success depended upon the clearest pos-

¹ See "The U S Labor Movement" in *Fortune* February 1951, pp. 91ff. The entire issue is devoted to an admirable essay on "U.S.A.—The Permanent Revolution," later published in book form (New York, Prentice Hall, 1951).

sible understanding of this pattern in terms of the economic, political, cultural, and other forces of which it is fashioned and to which labor contributes a vital share.

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² Theodore Brameld *Ends and Means in Education a Mid Century Appraisal* (New York, Harper, 1950), p. 132. Used by permission.

All these schools operate for at least one week, while many were in session two weeks or longer. Seldom was a school run for more than four weeks for a particular group of students, since the student body is normally composed of union members who leave their jobs to attend, or paid officials of the unions who cannot stay away from the union for long periods. Usually the site for a labor school is a college or university with suitable facilities, plus—and this is important—a willingness to let the union determine the course content. In most schools the union also chooses its own faculty . . .

One of the better labor schools was that of the Kentucky Federation of Labor, held for a two-week period beginning July 14, at Eastern State College. Some forty five students studied labor's stake in taxation, collective bargaining, labor legislation, labor economics, parliamentary law, and public speaking, labor history, union administration, and political action. Two workshops were held on stewards' problems and labor journalism.

The nearest thing to a permanent labor school in America today is Hudson Shore Labor School, located in West Park, New York. An independent school with no political tie up, and backed by both AFL and CIO unions in the East, Hudson Shore provides facilities for unions to which trade unionists come each year from fifteen different international unions.

Foreign students and trade unionists come to Hudson Shore every year to study American unionism, this summer, England, Sweden, Mexico, Cuba, Haiti, Germany and Canada were so represented. Most of these foreign students attend under the auspices of governmental agencies or one of the foundations operating in the field of educational exchange.

Students at Hudson Shore, who stay for a minimum of two weeks, study such subjects as economics for labor, labor and government, and the labor movement. These required courses deal with questions like the cost of living, today's economic picture, the use of economic statistics in collective bargaining, history of the labor movement, labor's political program and principles of collective bargaining. In addition, the student may choose from courses in labor and the world community, democracy in action, the union clinic, and union publicity.³

³ John D. Connors and Elmer T. Lehrer, *Labor Goes to School*, *The New Leader* (Oct. 8 1949), pp. 5ff.

From the foregoing, and from much other evidence that might be introduced, it is clear that labor, like industry with its 'company colleges,' has embarked upon a very elaborate and far reaching educational enterprise. While most subjects in the curriculum of workers' education are oriented specifically toward application in union activity, the curriculum can hardly be characterized as narrow. Here are courses in economics, history, political theory and government organization, sociology, community relations, psychology, journalism, and public speaking, to mention only the more common. Increasingly, too, the study of music and drama is entering into these programs. There seems little doubt that here is an educational phenomenon which all trends seem to indicate will soon reach major proportions.

Another phase of labor's efforts to educate its membership is perhaps equally intended to inform, if not to propagandize, the general public. The Gompers tradition of "no political affiliations" has been revised by the formation on the part of the AFL and the CIO of political agencies. These, the CIO's Political Action Committee and Labor's League for Political Education established by the AFL, are organs at the heart of organized labor designed to promote the political enlightenment of the membership. Both these bodies have been retained as vital arms in the activities of the new AFL-CIO. Whether deliberate or not, there cannot but be a considerable carry-over of influence upon the nonunion public of the efforts of these strong and high powered organizations.

The part played by the Political Action Committee of the CIO in recent national elections is a familiar fact of contemporary history. "Labor is in politics to stay," said the late Philip Murray, as CIO president, and the vigor with which organized labor has underwritten its political divisions clearly emphasizes this new departure.

The declaration of objectives adopted by the AFL-CIO at the time of the merger suggests certain aspects of labor policy which call for an organized program of political education. The AFL-CIO pledged itself to "give constructive aid in promoting the cause of peace and freedom in the world," to keep union activity "free from any and all corrupt influences and from the undermining effects of Communist, Fascist, or other totalitarian agencies," and to work for the promotion

of such causes as effective civil defense, statehood for Alaska and Hawaii, the encouragement of cooperatives, and the repeal of "right to work" laws. In President George Meany's words, "The scene of battle is no longer the company plant or the picket line. It has moved into the legislative halls of Congress and the state legislatures."

There is some disposition in certain quarters to speak of organized labor as the most potent political pressure group in America today. While it is not in our province to debate that question here, it is undeniable that the educational efforts of labor described are designed to increase its power and influence. Like business, labor has recognized the enormous potential in an organized educational program and has clearly committed itself to ever more extensive activities of this sort. As we have noted in earlier chapters in connection with other developments, this is a contemporary phenomenon of vital importance to the regular educational enterprise. That there is vast room and a great need for cooperation between educators and labor is obvious. In the interests of greater social health and stability the regular educational channels must take full cognizance of this new dimension.

Education of the Public. Organized labor seems so far in its history to have placed less emphasis upon the matter of speaking directly to the public. Reasons for this are clear enough. Labor is only today reaching maturity and has necessarily devoted its energies almost exclusively to solidifying its membership and consolidating its gains. Until recently, organized labor has not been in a position, financially or status-wise, to enter into the business of public information on a large scale. To date, the primary efforts of labor to educate the public have been indirect, through the impact on public opinion of the strike and allied bargaining weapons. Significantly, too, as many have stressed, American labor has never accepted the European idea of a labor party in politics, and thus one major avenue of influencing the general public has not been employed.

But, just as the tactics for educating the membership have undergone expansion and redirection in recent years, so too have the efforts of organized labor to influence public opinion begun to expand and mature. With increased membership and larger resources, labor has begun to make use of many of the regular channels for reaching the

public Labor today sponsors a considerable number of important radio presentations, such as news commentaries and forums on critical social questions. Increasingly, leading newspapers are finding it expedient to retain experts on labor and to publish regular columns, editorials, occasionally sections dealing with labor developments. Among the more prevalent, and perhaps most effective, media employed by organized labor are the newspaper or magazine advertisements in which labor's case is presented *to the public* on the occasion of some crucial controversy in the area of labor relations. Similarly, recent years have seen a considerable number of books published about the history, philosophy, and problems of the labor movement, books directed again at shaping public sentiment.

There is considerable evidence that in its concern to develop public sympathy and understanding, labor has turned increasingly to the educators for assistance. The early history of the labor movement in America was featured by a deep suspicion among organized working men of the schools and colleges of the country. These institutions were then felt to be the guardians if not the bastions, of antilabor attitudes, and labor leaders were scathing in their denunciations and their refusals of support. Today, however, as our discussion of workers education shows, there is a growing tendency for labor to promote cooperative efforts with schools and colleges to the end that labor problems, principles and techniques of labor relations, the philosophy of unionism, and the like receive appropriate consideration. In this connection it is significant that few collegiate curricula in economics today omit study of labor organization or labor history, similarly more and more secondary schools are according this aspect of the economy a key place in the social studies program. Potentially one of the most positive programs of all is one in which educators, labor leaders and businessmen have joined forces to promote an improved economic education for the American public. Organized as the Joint Council on Economic Education, these three groups are endeavoring cooperatively all over the country to develop increased intelligence and understanding of the economic system through programs of teaching high school teachers. For periods of several weeks these teachers are brought together, usually on college campuses (the costs being borne by the

sponsoring groups), to meet with leaders in business, industry, finance, labor relations, and government to learn more about the American economy. Few ventures of this type have been as enthusiastically received by all concerned.

Organized Labor and Public Educational Policy. The attitudes of labor toward the American educational system have undergone considerable change over the years. In the period following the Civil War the major labor organizations were undoubtedly too preoccupied with their own immediate economic problems to be able to afford much concern for education. Labor's sentiments regarding education were then composed predominantly of a deep belief in the common (that is, elementary) schools as a necessary medium of preparation for the skilled trades, a skepticism if not a deep distaste for the secondary and higher institutions which taught "medieval economics" and antiunionism, and a conception of education as a state and local rather than a national responsibility. It is not surprising that a serious student of labor's educational policies could write that for this period "a large expert interest in education on the part of organized labor is not to be expected. Down to the American Federation of Labor, or more properly, to the accession of the teachers to the Federation, such an interest is not to be found. But labor groups *have* helped to furnish some of the 'drive' behind educational changes at many points in our history."⁴

Any consideration of the development of labor's attitudes toward general education must deal almost entirely with the American Federation of Labor. This is primarily because of its relatively greater age and its continuous history, but also no doubt because of its emphasis upon the skilled trades. The AFL, unlike the CIO, has had not only the time but also an organizational philosophy more congenial to an interest in public education. In its early days the AFL voiced concern for the expansion of education and for compulsory-attendance legislation as a part of its fight for existence; education was an effective means of undercutting the then prevalent practice of child labor. As the union gained status and power, its educational attitudes matured

⁴ Philip R. V. Curoe, *Educational Attitudes and Policies of Organized Labor in the United States* (New York, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1926), p. 190. Used by permission.

and its history since the late 1880s has been featured by a consistently growing feeling of responsibility for education in a larger sense. Few organizations were more vocal in expressing a concern for rebuilding the schools of the South after the Civil War. This attitude developed into what has since stood as a major feature of AFL educational policy, an advocacy of increased federal support of education. Curoe noted that the Federation "has consistently worked for a larger measure of federal participation in education. [There has been] no instance in the official records of the American Federation of Labor where a move towards greater federal participation in education has been opposed [But] its policy has been opposed to federal dictation or mandatory legislation, it has stood rather for federal encouragement."⁵ Though this judgment was based on the Federation's performance up to the mid 1920's, it still is a valid assessment of that organization's policy.

In general the AFL (and with it, in a sense, organized labor generally) has consistently advocated, at all levels, more expanded education for all, stricter and more inclusive compulsion of school attendance, stronger and sounder programs of equalization, and a more favorable treatment of labor in school and college instruction. Its most effective efforts, and those with the greatest impact on the total educational endeavor, have been in the promotion of vocational education. While trade and industrial education received increasing support from state, local, and private sources during the period 1885 to 1910, particularly at the secondary level, there was growing a feeling that these efforts were inadequate to the needs of the new economy. With certain leading businessmen and educators, the Federation undertook to promote the adoption of a federal program of support for vocational education. These efforts bore fruit in the appointment, under congressional mandate in 1914, of an advisory commission to study the vocational education question and make legislative recommendations. That the report of this commission and the legislation which resulted, the famous Smith Hughes Vocational Education Act of 1917, were in major part shaped by representatives of organized labor is a matter of record. There is little doubt that the Smith Hughes program owes its existence more to the Federation than to any other single organization;

⁵ Curoe *op cit* p. 126ff.

the adoption of this legislation marks a milestone in the development of a mature labor policy toward public education. It was equally a landmark in the development of new curricular orientations in the schools and of new relationships between education and the Federal government.

This new dimension in the life of organized labor, concern for the conduct of public affairs in general and education in particular, has rapidly assumed a front rank position in the thinking of intelligent labor leaders. This fact was well demonstrated by the president of the Textile Workers Union of America, a CIO affiliate, when he wrote

Why are unions, whose traditional concern has been wages, hours, working conditions and, more recently, political action, extending their interest into the voluntary social welfare field?

Unquestionably, unions still spend most of their time and energy dealing with wages, hours and working conditions. These, after all, are the reasons for a union's existence. No matter what other activities a union may undertake, it has no excuse for functioning unless it protects the workers in the shop.

Before the New Deal, most unions thought this was their whole job. They took an active interest in legislation and community problems only when the community, or the law, interfered with or aided these normal union activities.

However, it was inevitable that unions should go further. The basic purpose of the union movement is to provide a better life for workers and their families. Wages and hours are important fundamentals—but so are the kinds of housing available to workers, the prices they must pay for necessities of life, the quality of education provided for their children, the condition of the community water and sewer systems, the facilities for supporting the families of those unable to work, and innumerable problems. Therefore, unions in their direct concern with the well-being of industrial workers must show interest in these problems and in the public and private agencies which seek to solve them.⁶

* * *

Here is another major interest group in American society which is vitally concerned about the conduct of education and of whose activities

⁶ Emil Rieve "Labor as a Community Force," *The Survey* (September 1948) p. 26.
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education must in turn be fully aware That this mutuality of interest involves serious problems cannot be denied Problems of the relation ship between education and labor are analogous to those which were noted in our examination of organized business Labor, too, represents vast accumulations of wealth and influence and perhaps even greater concentrations of political power When labor requests a hearing in the schools or advocates a program of support for a particular educational venture or makes available teaching aids and literature for class room use, these must be assessed and utilized with regard to the *total* educational effort As with business, there is also with labor danger of excessive pressures upon what must remain an essentially free institution There is the hazard inevitably attendant upon reconciling the peculiar and sometimes limited interests of labor with the larger responsibilities which education must serve But, again as in the case of business, the signs of the times encourage the conviction that labor realizes and is prepared to accept the obligations for universal educational advance which seem now to fall upon any truly national organization

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

BASIC QUESTION Both business and labor through their organizations, have advanced recommendations or policy statements regarding the conduct of public education In how far are the educational policies of these two groups in harmony? At what points do they disagree? How do you account for these agreements and disagreements?

- 1 Should teachers affiliate with organized labor by establishing independent teachers' unions or by joining the big union organizations as in the case of the American Federation of Teachers (AFL)? Or are the interests of education better served through the formation of professional organizations such as the National Education Association with its state and local subsidiaries?
- 2 How would you define the stake of organized labor in the health of American education?
- 3 Summarize the policies of organized labor with regard to the conduct of public education In general, do you agree or disagree, and why?
- 4 Examine the activities of organized labor in connection with the enact

- ment of the Smith Hughes Act of 1917. Why was this act considered so important by organized labor?
- 5 Investigate the educational program and activities of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the United Automobile Workers, or the national organizations of the American Federation of Labor or the Congress of Industrial Organizations. How do these compare—in purpose, program, and effectiveness—with the educational efforts of General Motors, the Bell Telephone Company, or the International Business Machines Company?
 - 6 To what extent are representatives of organized labor serving on school and college boards of trustees? Are they to be found primarily on the boards of private or public institutions? Do you feel that labor is adequately represented on such boards?

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Political Parties and Education

Political Parties in the American Scene: Some Generalizations

BEFORE CONSIDERING the political parties of the United States as educators or as formulators of educational policy, we should perhaps look briefly into the place and function of the parties in the American community. An Englishman writes that 'Few things are more curious to the foreign observer than the character of political parties in the United States. And an American magazine reminds us that while 'most Americans feel that they know all about [the American political party] this may be more of a feeling than a fact.

First, how shall we define a political party? It might be argued that the clearest and least debatable definition would describe a party as a body of citizens who support a particular candidate for office. There have been Jeffersonian and Jacksonian parties, we have had Greeley parties, Bryan parties, Willkie parties and Taft parties. But this is to argue that a political party represents only personalities, whereas those who joined a Jackson or a Willkie party did so consciously or not, because of a belief that the candidate represented ideas or principles with which they were in accord. The definition of a political party, then, must include some reference to the opinions or points of view which the party and its candidates are presumed to

hold One aligns himself with a Bryan party because of its advocacy of "free silver" or with a Wilson party because of its international policies But again, those who are interested in *particular* political programs, who have a personal stake in the enactment or rejection of *particular* legislation, must align themselves politically behind the candidate or group most favorable to their special concerns The party becomes, or at least can become, the representative of *special* interests the party of labor or big business, the party of free trade or high tariffs, the party of "states' rights" or of federalization Clearly, the American political party is no simple mechanism, and no simple definition will suffice One of the more useful definitions is that recently offered by James C Charlesworth, a leading political scientist, and it can serve our purposes "A political party in the United States is a legally recognized body of voters which seeks to control governmental policy by persuading the electorate to install its candidates as public officers ' This seems to take adequate account of the several motivations which lead to party affiliation, for all have at base, in some form or other and to a greater or lesser degree, the "control of governmental policy"

But to define the term political party is only the beginning of any analysis of such organizations in the United States As Western history surely demonstrates, democracies cannot and do not function without parties There are unique aspects of life in America which increase manifoldly the importance and essentiality of political organization on a comprehensive scale The mere size of the nation alone would seem to require some machinery for mobilizing and implementing public opinion if the democracy is not to degenerate into oligarchy or dictatorship The very federal system under which the United States operates, with its divided authorities between state and national governments, could hardly function democratically without the administrative and communicative channels which the parties provide Again, the philosophy of American constitutional government, involving as it does the checks and balances of tripartite structure and the refusal to countenance either monarchy or political aristocracy, makes imperative the operation of extralegal vehicles to crystallize expressions of the public interest ' Parties are essential in a republic, for without them the

state would lack will" Of no nation is this more true than the United States.

There is still another feature of political life in America which is all important, the two party tradition or, as some conclusively phrase it, the two-party system This is perhaps the most mystifying element in the American political picture to foreigners, and yet it is generally conceded in this country that the two party idea is among our most stabilizing principles The operation of government with only two major parties is certainly not synonymous with democracy, the histories of a number of nations with constitutional democratic governments (France, Italy, various Latin America states) indicate that multiparty systems are also consistent with a democratic orientation It is curious and significant that in general the two party pattern appears to be characteristic of those governments founded under Anglo Saxon auspices; thus Great Britain, New Zealand, Australia, Canada, as well as the United States, all seem to have found the tradition a sound one.

Among American political scientists successful operation of the two-party system seems to be rather widely accepted as a sign of "political maturity." This view is held on two counts A nation in which the two-party system is firmly entrenched is one which regards a wide variety of parties as unstabilizing A multiplicity of political parties tends to splinter society and to undermine social cohesion In the second place, it is felt that two parties each representing a true cross section of the entire population, as do the Republican and Democratic parties, serve as the strongest source of political stability Charlesworth well summarizes the significance of this fact when he writes ¹

Peoples who have a genius for republican government recognize in the political party an instrument which is indispensable if the government is to function These peoples create two principal parties regardless of sectional differences, economic stratification, racial antipathies, and political enmities Each principal party contains every type of element Many superficial writers have hunted diligently for essential differences

¹ James C Charlesworth, 'Is Our Two Party System Natural?' *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol 259 (September 1948), pp 7 8
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¹ James C. Charlesworth, *Is Our Two Party System Natural?* *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* Vol. 259 (September 1948), pp. 7-8. Italics my own. Used by permission.

between the major parties and some have come up with a few alleged distinctions, but the point is that *if the two main parties were essentially different the system would not work*. The political genius of the American people is expressed, not in the Constitution, but in our ability to make a procedurally unworkable instrument work. The Latin American republics copied our Constitution, but they have never succeeded in operating it. The tripartite system of government, further embarrassed in our case by bicameral government and by a federal system, requires positive co-ordination. The dominant party provides this unifying service.

" if the two main parties were essentially different, the system would not work." This is the crux of the matter and this is the factor that explains why, on the whole, American political parties as such are not likely to be great innovators and vigorous pressers of issues. On the contrary, the two major parties, precisely because of their composition, will both tend to be essentially conservative and to reflect those attitudes on which, over the nation as a whole, there is fundamental agreement. Thus, in American politics

There can be no sharp cleavage on left and rightism, otherwise elections will cease. The two main parties must agree on fundamentals, and each must be a simulacrum of the nation. Analysts who lament that the present Democratic-Republican alignment is not "meaningful" reveal their impatience with the slowness of realization of their favored projects, but forget the danger to the Republic. It is precisely because members of the party-out-of power recognize that the Government is in the hands of a party which contains every shade of opinion contained in their own that they are willing to abide by the result of the election.²

One might be led to ask why, if the parties are so nearly identical in membership and point of view, they are such potent forces in the life of the nation. What is their significance, for education as for other primary social issues, if in effect they agree on fundamentals? The answer (and the rationale for this chapter) seems clearly to lie in the fact of a party's power to put its interpretation of the fundamentals into operation. Thus, "the debates between the parties are concerned, not with first principles but with how those principles can best be realized in the government of the nation's affairs." One can agree, in

² Charlesworth *op cit* p. 6

other words, that the two major parties are both committed to the enhancement of social welfare. But one can at the same time believe that the methods, directions, or schedules for the realization of such an objective put forth by one party are genuinely to be preferred over those of the other party. It is with this logic in mind that we proceed shortly to an examination of the several party platform pronouncements dealing with education.

One last aspect of the American political party phenomenon, and one which is very closely related to education, remains to be noted. This is the fact that, by and large, political parties as such are not major factors in the conduct of *local* government. The larger the jurisdictional unit, the more likely is extensive partisan activity, the importance of parties increases at the level of state government, and they are central to the conduct of the national government. This generalization seems to be borne out even at the level of municipal government for the larger the city the more likely and the more appropriate is partisan activity, the activity of party organizations in the election of the government of the City of New York is only the most obvious example.

This is not to imply either that party organizations do not exist at the local level or that partisan activity has been removed from local or municipal government. To be sure, the trends toward unicameral city administration and toward the city managership are clearly designed, among other things, to reduce the opportunities for unbridled partisan operations. Nevertheless, spoils, patronage, and the avenues for municipal graft have not been altogether eliminated and around these opportunities parties tend to gravitate. Parties there are, write Odegard and Helms, but with no other bond than the desire to feed at the public trough. Contests over policy or principle are virtually unknown, almost the sole question at issue being 'Who shall cut the loaf and who shall eat it?'³

Perhaps this helps to explain the deep-dyed tradition of nonpartisanship in the management of local school affairs. As all are aware, few political battles are waged on the level of city government over the

³ Peter H. Odegard and E. Allen Helms, *American Politics: A Study in Political Dynamics* (New York: Harper, 1947), p. 210.

conduct of public education, on matters of principles or philosophy of school administration or curriculum. We discover the most clear cut partisan educational views at the *national* level. We can find in the statements and, to a degree, the actions of the national political parties some evidences of the educational concerns, commitments, or tendencies which those organizations represent. As national organs of the most profoundly influential character, the parties may well become the vehicles of significant, if not indeed revolutionary, educational developments.

The Political Parties as Educators

In the definition of the political party previously cited, there are two key words. We have spoken of one, the objective of "control" of the government. But a second must actually precede and is certainly equally important, the matter of "persuading" the voters. It is in the discharge of this function of *persuasion* that the political party takes on an educational cast, just as we have seen business and organized labor develop educational programs for the public as well as for themselves. And it is here, too, that the party, perhaps more than any other single agency, engages in what we have heard called *miseducation*, the distortion or suppression of truth in the interests of some private advantage. If then, the political party's chief *raison d'être* is one of converting, convincing, or confirming public sentiments, it would seem to follow that professional educators must conduct their business in the light of this fact: capitalizing upon the activities of partisan politics where they serve an educational purpose, at the same time training youth to analyze and criticize political propaganda with lucidity and incisiveness.

As salesmen or persuaders, the parties are educators on a grand scale. It is not necessary to enter into a detailed discussion of the educational methods employed by the major political organizations, these are familiar to anyone who has experienced a national election. It is well to remember that even when elections are not in progress, political parties are major users of the mass media of communication. Perhaps no organizations receive a comparable amount of "free advertising" in

press and radio-TV than do the parties, for few other matters are deemed as newsworthy as the activities or statements of public officials, and these can rarely be totally divested of partisan significance. Hardly a day passes without the broadcast or newspaper report of a public forum, a town meeting, or a debate on some question of major public concern, and rarely are these devoid of political overtones or implications.

Pamphlets, compilations of voting records, and all manner of political literature are all a part of the daily fare in the United States. In some respects probably no out-of-school educational force is more ubiquitous and omnipresent than are the major parties. The size of the investment in these operations is considerable, although it cannot be reported with any exactness. Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois, in an article entitled 'The High Cost of Elections,' written just after the election of 1952, graphically described the contemporary situation. He estimated that, for national campaigning alone, the Republican party had spent \$20 million in 1952, the Democratic party \$4 to \$5 million, and that the total for all campaign expenditures for the year exceeded \$75 million.

The minimum cost of a closely contested Congressional race is around \$10,000 and often runs to several times that figure. While it may cost only a few hundred or thousand dollars to run for the Senate in a one party state such as Vermont, the minimum legitimate costs will amount to from \$150,000 to \$200,000 in a fairly large industrial state. Thus, \$50,000 will be needed as a bedrock beginning for radio and television, at least \$50,000 for printing, another \$50,000 for headquarters, staff traveling expenses, meetings, etc. To this the cost of billboards should be added [plus] An evening one hour radio-TV simulcast on just one network [costing] \$70,000 a few chartered plane trips, costing about \$25,000, and a special train for \$100,000.⁴

To these amounts should be added the moneys spent in the off years between elections, as well as the unrecorded contributions to the electoral campaigns. Judged from the standpoint of financial investment the educational program maintained by the parties is a con

⁴ Paul N. Douglas, 'The High Cost of Elections' *New Republic* (December 22, 1952) pp. 8-9. Used by permission.

siderable one. When seen in conjunction with the other avenues employed, the political educational endeavor takes on the most impressive proportions.

The Political Parties as Formulators, Enunciators, and Sponsors of National Educational Policy

The history of the intensification of party activity in education coincides with the high points along four lines: (1) the federal policy of encouraging local educational efforts beginning with the famous Northwest Ordinances of 1785 and 1787, (2) the promotion by federal legislation of specific types or areas of education, as with the Land-Grant College Act of 1862 and the Vocational Education Act of 1917, (3) the assumption by the Federal government of responsibility for (a) specific educational activities (for example, the military and naval academies, the schools of Washington, D. C., the education of the Indians, and the like) and for (b) a degree of coordination and oversight at the federal level through the establishment of a national educational office, and (4) the long succession of attempts to enact what has come to be called federal aid legislation, legislation which would place the Federal government in a position of partial responsibility for the general support of local educational institutions.

Unquestionably, it has been in connection with this question of federal financial support of local education that the clearest statements of party policy have emerged. To indicate something of the role of political parties in the determination of national educational policy, and to show the development of such policy, it seems appropriate to examine in some detail the history of party activity in this area. We raise the question: What has been the record of the political parties in the area of federal participation in education?

This question might be approached in a number of ways. For example, votes in Congress on educational measures might be studied and analyzed, or the pronouncements of Presidents and other political leaders might be canvassed for expressions of attitudes regarding education. We choose here, however, to present the evidence from the platforms of the parties as perhaps the surest means of arriving

at what most accurately or genuinely reflects the sentiments of a party at a given time. One hastens to note with Binkley that the party platform is the product of "the familiar practice of finding the formula that ends debate—the perennial pattern of American party politics." A review of platform pronouncements will not include many planks indicating subscription to radical educational innovations. By the same token, the platforms do disclose the 'formula' to which a party is willing to give its support, and, so conceived, they are valid barometers for sizable segments of public opinion.

The Pre Civil War Period—1800-1860. The practice of holding popular party conventions for the purpose of nominating candidates and framing platforms does not seem to have come into prominence until the electoral year 1832. The only platform of consequence prior to that date was that of the Republican (Jeffersonian) party, adopted by a congressional caucus in 1800. The party was pledged to the 'Encouragement of science and the arts in all their branches, to the end that the American people may perfect their independence of all foreign monopolies, institutions, and influences.' That this accords with the educational interests of Thomas Jefferson is undeniable, one is tempted to surmise that contained herein is a subtle allusion to the national university idea, but that this represented a positive educational policy is hardly a defensible assumption.

The major political contenders during the two decades following 1832 were the Whigs and the Democrats. To the Whigs, perhaps, can be credited the first small mention of education in any party platform. In 1844 the Whig endorsement of Theodore Frelinghuysen of New Jersey for the vice presidency noted that 'his head, his hand, and his heart have been given without stint to the cause of morals, *education*, philanthropy, and religion'.⁵ But one turns to the Democratic party platforms of the pre Civil War years for a more tangible, though indirect, statement of policy which touches upon the conduct of education. While obviously primarily intended to express policy regarding the status of slavery, the following planks taken from the Democratic platforms of 1840 and 1844, and reaffirmed regularly through that of 1860, serve to introduce what came to be the consistent policy of

⁵ Italics my own

the Democratic party with regard to federal relations to education throughout the nineteenth century

Resolved That Congress has no power under the Constitution to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several states . . .

Resolved That the Constitution does not confer upon the general government the power to commence and carry on a general system of internal improvements

Resolved That the proceeds of the public lands ought to be sacredly applied to the national objects specified in the Constitution, and that we are opposed to any law, for the distribution of such proceeds among the states, as alike inexpedient in policy and repugnant to the Constitution

The period before the Civil War was featured by a complete absence of specific mention of education in party platforms and, on the part of the Democratic party, by subscription to a conception of "states' rights" which, it seems clear, would have denied to the Federal government any active participation in the conduct of general education. It remains only to be noted that the platforms of the new Republican party for 1856 and 1860 demonstrated a similar conviction.

The Period of Reconstruction—1870-1892. As American history has often demonstrated, one of the characteristics of a war period is that it produces basic reorientations and reformulations of social policies. This is evident when one considers the course taken by the Republican party during the 1870's and 1880's in its treatment of education. For it is not an exaggeration to state that during this period, and largely as the result of the programs and proposals set forth by Republican party leadership, the role of the Federal government in educational affairs acquired the status of a bona fide political issue. As such it came to have status as a plank in the political platforms of both major parties, for the very vigor of the Republican educational program forced the Democratic party to reaffirm and clarify its position.

The concern of the parties for federal relations to education during this period might be seen as revolving around three allied issues: (1) the establishment of a federal office of education, (2) the concern that public education be kept free from "sectarian influences," and

(3) the attempts to supply federal support for local educational activities. All these were instrumental in shaping the platform statements of this period relative to education, but the last, federal aid to education, came to dominate. In this connection it should be noted that three types of federal assistance to education were proposed and considered during these years, all with the expressed primary intention of improving the educational conditions in the South. The first of these was the proposal known as the Hoar Bill (1870-1871) by which the national government would have been empowered to establish its own schools wherever existing local facilities were adjudged inadequate. Second, the Republican party sponsored measures by which certain specific federal revenues, particularly the proceeds from the sales of public lands, would have been devoted to the support of education. The third type of federal assistance, and the most seriously considered, was exemplified in the series of bills known as the Blair bills appropriating money in support of education directly from the federal treasury. Here is the direct and original antecedent for the federal aid measures currently under congressional consideration.

This is the period in which education begins to receive explicit mention in party platforms. Nor should one be surprised, in view of the historic role of third parties, to discover that the first such mention of education as a federal responsibility appeared in the platform of the Prohibition party for 1872 in a plank stating: "That the fostering and extension of common schools is a primary duty of the government." Indeed throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century, minor parties were consistently advocating federal concern for educational reforms, for example, compulsory education, total separation of public education from denominational influence, or free textbooks and meals, which have become integral features of contemporary American education.

But it is to the two major parties that we must direct our attention. As the sponsor of revolutionary departures in federal legislation, the Republican party from 1876 through 1888 made its commitment to the principle of federal responsibility for education increasingly explicit. The Democrats were unable to ignore the question and were forced to register no less explicitly their disapproval. Here follow the planks

which concern education, drawn from the major platforms of this period (The salient phrases are italicized)

REPUBLICAN

1876

DEMOCRATIC

The public school system of the several States is the bulwark of the American Republic, and with a view to its security and permanence we recommend *an amendment to the Constitution of the United States forbidding the application of any public funds or property for the benefit of any schools or institutions under sectarian control*

In absolute acquiescence in the will of the majority, the vital principle of Republics, . . . in the total separation of church and state . . . in the faithful education of the rising generation, that they may preserve, enjoy and transmit these best conditions of human happiness and hope—we behold the noblest products of a hundred years of changeful history

Reform is necessary, and can never be effected but by making it the controlling issue of the elections, and lifting it above the two false issues with which the office holding class and the party in power seek to smother it

1 The false issue with which they would enkindle sectarian strife in respect to the public schools, of which *the establishment and support belong exclusively to the several States*, and which the Democratic party has cherished from their foundation, and is resolved to maintain without prejudice or preference for any class, sect, or creed, and *without largesses from the Treasury to any*

1880

The work of popular education is one left to the care of the several States, but *it is the duty of the Na*

The Democrats of the United States, in convention assembled declare . . . *Opposition to central*

REPUBLICAN

tional Government to aid that work to the extent of its constitutional ability The intelligence of the nation is but the aggregate of the intelligence in the several States, and the destiny of the nation must be guided not by the genius of any one State but by the average genius of all

The Constitution wisely forbids Congress to make any law respecting the establishment of religion, but it is idle to hope that the nation can be protected against the influence of secret sectarianism while each State is exposed to its domination We therefore recommend that the Constitution be so amended as to lay the same prohibition upon the legislature of each State and to *forbid the appropriation of public funds to the support of sectarian schools*

1884

The national government is supreme within the sphere of its national duties but the states have reserved rights which should be faithfully maintained Each should be guarded with jealous care

DEMOCRATIC

zation and to that dangerous spirit of encroachment which tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one and thus to create, whatever be the form of government, a real despotism No sumptuary laws, separation of church and state, for the good of each common schools fostered and protected

We favor honest civil service reform the separation of church and state, and the diffusion of free education by common schools so that every child in the land may be taught the rights and duties of citizenship

We are opposed to all propositions which upon any pretext would convert the General Government into a machine for collecting taxes to be distributed among the States or the citizens thereof

REPUBLICAN

1888

DEMOCRATIC

Free Schools

(No mention of education)

In a Republic like ours, where the citizen is the sovereign and the official the servant, where no power is exercised except by the will of the people, it is important that the sovereign—the people—should possess intelligence. The free school is the promoter of that intelligence which is to preserve us as a free nation, *therefore the State or Nation, or both combined, should support free institutions of learning sufficient to afford to every child growing up in the land the opportunity of a good common school education*

1892

Freedom of Thought and Speech

Education

The ultimate reliance of free popular government is the intelligence of the people and the maintenance of freedom among all men. We therefore declare anew our devotion to liberty of thought and conscience, of speech and press, and approve all agencies and instrumentalities which contribute to the education of the children of the land, but, while insisting upon the fullest measure of religious liberty we are opposed to any union of church and state.

Popular education being the only safe basis of popular suffrage, *we recommend to the several States most liberal appropriations for the public schools*. Free common schools are the nursery of good government, and they have always received the fostering care of the Democratic party, which favors every means of increasing intelligence. Freedom of education, being an essential of civil and religious liberty as well as a necessity for the development of intelligence, must not be interfered with under any pretext whatever. We are opposed to State interference with parental

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rights and rights of conscience in the education of children as an infringement of the fundamental Democratic doctrine that the largest individual liberty consistent with the rights of others insures the highest type of American citizenship and the best government

From these excerpts, the following conclusions appear to be supportable. The Democratic party did not at any time depart from its traditional "states' rights" policy and in these platforms applied that doctrine more or less specifically to education. The Republican party, on the other hand, grew ever more staunchly committed to a policy of federal activity in support of education. The Democratic party appears to have been less concerned about the matter of "sectarian influences" than the Republican party, which vigorously and expressly went on record in opposition to any form of aid to denominational education. By 1892 both parties seem to have concluded that education had lost its effectiveness as a political issue, thus the platforms in that year made no mention of education as a federal responsibility or a national problem. It was not until 1908 that either party found it politically expedient to return an education plank to its platform. It is noteworthy that congressional activity with regard to education followed a similar pattern, for after the final defeat of the Blair Bill in 1888, federal aid legislation was not seriously considered in Congress until the Smith Lever Agricultural Extension Act was passed in 1914.

The Twentieth Century. Two points seem clear from a review of the platform statements regarding education which have been submitted to the people during the twentieth century. In the first place, an almost complete reversal of the relative positions of the two major parties vis à vis education appears to have developed. As the platform excerpts which follow demonstrate, it is in recent years the Democratic party which has been more staunchly committed to a program of federal assistance to education and it is the Republican party which, through omission or vagueness of statement, has seemed to subscribe

to the position of federal "hands off" or "states' rights" in education. Second, one cannot fail to note the relatively weak, often meaningless expressions which both major parties so frequently offer as bases for an educational policy. At the same time, here is evidence that education is being taken more seriously, for concrete proposals and more definite commitments are clearly characteristic of some of the later pronouncements. In the review of the platforms which follows, it should be noted that no mention of any educational policy appeared in the Republican platforms for 1900, 1904, 1912, 1932, 1936, and 1940, Democratic platforms failed to notice education in the platforms of 1900, 1904, 1912, and 1932.

REPUBLICAN

1908

DEMOCRATIC

The Farmer

Agriculture and Mechanic
Education

. . . we commend the growing practice of state aid [to agriculture] and we approve the efforts of the National Agricultural Department by experiment and otherwise to make clear to the public the best methods of road construction.

The Democratic party favors extension of agricultural, cal, and industrial education; therefore favor the establishment of district agricultural experiment stations and secondary agricultural and mechanical colleges in all states.

1912

(No mention of education)

We recognize the value of vocational education, and support appropriations for its extension and extension teaching in cooperation with all states.

1916

Labor Laws

(No mention of education)

We pledge the Republican party to the faithful enforcement of all Federal laws passed for the protection of labor. We favor vocational education. . .

REPUBLICAN

man welfare into 'A cabinet post of education and relief')

The Federal Government should be zealous to *respect and maintain the rights of the states* and to uphold the vigor of our dual system of Government. *The effort which however, is being continually made to have the Federal Government move into the field of State activity has never had and never will have the support of the Republican party*

(No mention of education)

(No mention of education)

DEMOCRATIC

and moral qualifications of its citizens and for the expenditure of the moneys collected by taxation for the support of its schools, shall use its sovereign right in all matters pertaining to education

The federal government should offer to the states such counsel advice, and aid as may be made available through the federal agencies for the general improvement of our schools in view of our national needs

1928

We demand that the constitutional rights and powers of the states shall be preserved in their full vigor and virtue We demand a revival of the spirit of local self government without which free institutions cannot be preserved

(This is followed by a reaffirmation of the excerpt quoted from the 1924 platform)

1936

We have aided youth to stay in school . .

1940

Today, when the youth of other lands is being sacrificed in war, this Nation recognizes the full value of the sound youth program established by the Administration. The National Youth Administration and

REPUBLICAN

DEMOCRATIC

Civilian Conservation Corps have enabled our youth to complete their education have maintained their health trained them for useful citizenship and aided them to secure employment

Our public works have modernized and greatly expanded the Nation's schools We have increased Federal aid for vocational education and rehabilitation We shall continue to bring to millions of children youth and adults the educational and economic opportunities otherwise beyond their reach

1944

The measures we propose shall avoid federalization of government activities, to the end that our States, schools, and cities shall be free

We favor Federal aid to education administered by the States without interference by the Federal Government

1948

We favor equality of educational opportunity for all and the promotion of education and educational facilities

We advocate federal aid for education administered by and under the control of the States We vigorously support the authorization which was so shockingly ignored by the Republican Eightieth Congress [the Taft bill] We insist upon the right of every American child to obtain a good education

1952

The tradition of popular education tax supported and free to all

Every American child irrespective of color national origin eco-

REPUBLICAN

is strong with our people. *The responsibility for sustaining this system of popular education has always rested upon the local communities and the states* We subscribe fully to this principle.

DEMOCRATIC

economic status or place of residence, should have every educational opportunity to develop his potentialities.

Local, state, and federal governments have shared responsibility to contribute appropriately to the pressing needs of our educational system *We urge that federal contributions be made available to state and local units* which adhere to basic minimum standards.

The Federal Government should not dictate or control educational policy.

We pledge immediate consideration for those school systems which need further legislation to provide federal aid for new school construction, teachers' salaries and school maintenance and repair

We urge the adoption by appropriate legislative action of the proposals advocated by the President's Commission on Higher Education, including federal scholarships

We will continue to encourage the further development of vocational training which helps people acquire skills and technical knowledge so essential to production techniques.

1956

The Republican Party believes that the physical, mental, and spiritual well being of the people is as important as their economic health

Every American child, irrespective of race or national origin, economic status or place of residence, has full right under the law and the

REPUBLICAN

It will continue to support this conviction with vigorous action

The Republican Party will renew its efforts to enact a program based on sound principles of need and designed to encourage increased state and local efforts to build more class rooms

The Republican Party is determined to press all such actions that will help insure that every child has the educational opportunity to advance to his own greatest capacity. .

We demand once again, despite the reluctance of the Democrat 84th Congress, Federal assistance to help build facilities to train more physicians and scientists

(In addition, the platform called attention to the record of the Republican party during the preceding four years in creating the new Department of Health, Education and Welfare, in suggesting and calling the White House Conference on Education, and in proposing a national analysis of the current situation in higher education)

DEMOCRATIC

Constitution, without discrimination, to every educational opportunity for developing his potentialities

We are now faced with shortages of educational facilities that threaten national security, economic prosperity and human well being. The resources of our States and localities are already strained to the limit. Federal aid and action should be provided within the traditional framework of State and local control

We pledge the Democratic Party to the following

(1) Legislation providing Federal financing to assist States and local communities to build schools and to provide essential health and safety services for all school children,

(2) Better educational, health, and welfare opportunities for children of migratory workers,

(3) Assistance to programs for training teachers of exceptional children,

(4) Programs providing for the training of teachers to meet the critical shortage in technical and scientific fields, and

(5) Expansion of the program of student, teacher and cultural exchange with other nations

* * *

As was stated in the introductory paragraphs, education has come of age as a matter of political consequence in the United States. As this brief history has attempted to demonstrate, the leadership of the

major political parties has only just begun to recognize this fact, although there have been periods during which one or the other party has committed itself to specific policies regarding the conduct of education. The time has passed, however, when the American people can afford to allow its political leadership to by pass this supremely important question. No votes will be won, and many may be lost, by the party which states with empty elegance that "We favor equality of educational opportunity for all." It is time, past time, for the people and their parties to deal squarely, courageously, and systematically with the all too numerous issues which today confront American education. As some of the more recent platforms indicate, political leadership is beginning to deal more directly with the problems of inadequate school support and unequal educational opportunity, of a poorly paid, understaffed teaching profession, of the so-called secular versus the sectarian school, of the freedom to teach and learn. The public, and especially parents and teachers, should expect, nay, demand, that the crucial institution of American democracy—the school—receive the political consideration that is essential to the continuation of the political system itself.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

BASIC QUESTION Earlier we stated that education to be genuinely democratic must be nonpartisan. Here we are saying that political parties must give more serious attention to education than ever before. Can we have it both ways? Can we have a continuing nonpartisan school system side by side with an increasing political interest in and responsibility for that system? If this is a dilemma, how do we resolve it?

- 1 Compare the pronouncements on education from recent Republican and Democratic party platforms. How do these compare with those of certain minor national parties? What tentative conclusions are you prepared to draw from such an analysis?
- 2 What is the responsibility of the teacher confronted in class with incompatible claims or statements of "fact" from various political parties? How should he deal with such a situation?
- 3 What are the dangers inherent in (a) increased political interest in education, (b) decreased political concern for education?

4. Can you draw a defensible distinction between those aspects of education which are the appropriate and necessary concerns of political parties and those which are not? Cite some examples
5. What might be inferred, at least tentatively, from these education planks, regarding party policy in certain other areas—for example, church state separation, racial segregation, freedom of speech?
6. In many foreign democracies, the chief national educational officer is a minister holding cabinet rank, hence a leader in an important political party. Do you feel that political party responsibility with respect to educational affairs would be enhanced if the United States were to accord a similar status to its national education office?
7. In terms of your understanding and assessment of the contemporary American educational scene, draw up an education plank which you would wish to see supported by one of the major parties

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The Church as Educator in the United States

SOME OF THE MOST IMPORTANT and most acute educational problems in America today lie in the area of the relationship between religion and the conduct of education. For this reason alone it is essential to obtain some understanding of the role and position of American churches as educational institutions and as promoters of specific educational policies.

A consideration of this subject necessarily falls into two parts, the first of which is essential as background for the second. This chapter attempts to discuss the place of organized religion as an educational agency in American life, the history of church-controlled education and the various forms that it has taken. An awareness of these factors, it is hoped, will provide perspective for the consideration in a subsequent chapter of the critical problems which involve both church and school. We turn first to offer some statistical and other evidence of the stature and scope of organized religion in the total American scene.

Churches in America

Recent compilations of data on the churches of the United States¹ disclose some striking and significant facts regarding the place of

¹ National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U. S. A., *Yearbook of American Churches, 1956* (New York: the Council, 1955), and "The Latest Information on Church Statistics," *Information Service*, New York, the Council, October 8, 1955.

religion in American life Data prepared by the National Council of the Churches of Christ in America show that in 1954 there was a total church membership in this country of 97,482,611 persons This figure represents a ratio of 6 church members for every 10 in the total population, an increase from a 1 in 15 ratio in 1800, and 1 out of 6 in 1850 Thus, a far greater proportion of the American people is affiliated with organized religious groups than ever before in our history In the period since 1920, church membership has increased at double the rate of growth of the population as a whole

This total church membership is spread among 268 different and independent denominations, ranging from the over 32 million in the Roman Catholic Church to the 16 members of the Church of Jesus Christ (a Mormon group) and the 9 reported communicants of the Primitive Friends Society Protestant church bodies hold a total of over 57 million and 9 Protestant groups account for almost seven eighths of the total Protestant return The breakdown among the leading Protestant denominations is as follows

Baptist	18,785,241
Methodist	11,803,645
Lutheran	7,117,906
Presbyterian	3,837,101
Protestant Episcopal	2,757,744
Disciples of Christ	1,822,377
Churches of Christ	1,600,000
Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints	1,438,428
Congregational Christian	1,310,572

Some 55 million persons are affiliated with Jewish congregations Nearly 3 million belong to some branch of the Eastern Orthodox Church Various non Christian bodies make up the remainder It is well to note, in passing, that the figures for the various denominations are not strictly comparable as churches vary widely in their definitions of membership

While our concern is with the direction and influence of church activity as it bears upon education, we should take some cognizance of the church's position as a general social force in American life.

We can ask, what is the impact of the fact of this massive and growing church membership upon American society?

This is a difficult question to answer. American history in its entirety has been influenced, for the most part for good but occasionally for ill, by the activities of church bodies. But any assessment of that influence, historically or contemporaneously, runs afoul of prejudice or preconception. For many the influence of organized religion in American life is seen as liberalizing, as a force for the enhancement and expansion of human welfare. The well known and outspoken stands taken by churches against slavery in the 1830s and after, and against child labor in the later nineteenth century are cases in point. Others hold up organized religion as a bulwark of conservatism or reaction, pointing to the general antilabor bias of (especially) Protestant churches throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries or the correlations that seem to obtain between "economic ethics" and the wealth of a congregation.² Many maintain that there is an inevitable disposition in Christianity toward democracy, human freedom, and social progress but find the teachings or actions of certain Christian churches to run in authoritarian, repressive directions. Beyond these considerations is the fact that, more often than not, the concerns and efforts of churches to influence society generally are either combined with or tend to overlap secular forces, thus the weight of the churches' contribution to the ultimate outcome cannot be precisely determined.

American society is no exception to the general historical truth that organized religion is a profound force. It does not require documentation to maintain that much of the moral code or ethic of American life has its roots in religious conviction or commitment. There is evidence aplenty to demonstrate that social behavior in family, school, business, recreational, or esthetic spheres is regulated in large part by religious orientations. More specifically, the efforts carried on in the name of religion for particular social, political, or economic causes—improved working conditions, prohibition, pacifism, censorship—have been potent and central strains in American life.

With the emergence of what is often known as the social gospel,

² See J. Milton Yinger, *Religion in the Struggle for Power* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1946), pp. 153ff.

churches in the United States in the twentieth century have become leading agencies in the enunciation and promotion of doctrines of institutional reform. Fursey offers a convenient analysis of the three primary avenues by which religious groups operate to actualize Christian or Judaic ideals in community behavior.³ These he calls *personalist action*, *nonpolitical group action*, and *political action*. The first, *personalist action*, is probably the most pervasive and the least tangible. The term refers to the effect upon institutional life which results from the influence of church membership upon individuals. As the church's commitments to particular virtues or ideals are strengthened within individual people, presumably there is a corollary effect upon their behavior in society, "as they are changed, the institution itself is changed." Nonpolitical group action refers to the promotion of social improvement through the use of the regular communications media and by the formation or sponsorship of church affiliates with social objectives. On the one hand, the churches publish newspapers and magazines, buy or are granted considerable radio time, and in concert organize extensive news agencies. On the other hand, the churches, and particularly the Roman Catholic Church, have established a wide variety of action groups in a number of areas with the explicit aim of more effectively realizing religious or spiritual principles in the common life. Such agencies as the Catholic Rural Life Conference, the Anti Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith, or the Protestant Fellowship of Reconciliation are illustrative.

Political action, as has already been hinted, has always seemed an appropriate function of churches in America. Church leaders have consistently been among the most outspoken champions or castigators of crucial political proposals, have rarely remained totally silent on issues with significant moral implications. Perhaps the feature which magnifies the political influence of the contemporary church is the tendency to organize denominational pressure and to consolidate forces insofar as sectarian differences will permit. Several churches and a large number of the satellite organizations, like the Women's Christian Temperance Union or the Anti Defamation League, maintain full

³ See Paul H. Fursey, "The Churches and Social Problems," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 236 (March 1948), pp. 104-106.

fledged lobbyists in the national capital. Many more organizations of a religious nature keep close watch on state and national legislative developments and are prepared to appear at congressional hearings or to draft press releases on critical questions. Doubtless most important of all are the great interdenominational associations which are among the most important modern religious developments. These are the sponsors of many of the most influential publications as well as the most effective lobbies and are quite clearly attempts to inform and mobilize public opinion. The National Catholic Welfare Conference, an agency representing only the membership of Roman Catholic churches, and hence not interdenominational, must be included here. It operates to coordinate all Catholic agencies in the promotion of a "Christian way of life" in the United States. The National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America represents the federation of twenty nine Protestant religious groups for the advancement of causes of mutual concern. The National Conference of Christians and Jews attempts to operate not so much at the level of political pressures as in terms of educating and enlightening the general public. Here Protestants, Catholics, and Jews have joined forces to promote measures for the elimination of racial and religious prejudice, to advance intergroup understanding, and to sponsor investigations or researches into the nature and causes of group antagonisms.

American churches, singly and collectively, are clearly significant sources of political influence. When a pastor takes a stand on some vital local issue, the impact upon the community can be and very frequently is profound. When the official leader of one of the major, and some of the lesser, denominations goes "on the record" regarding a question of public policy, his position must be weighed with great care as likely to represent the opinion of a majority of the membership of his church. And the pronouncements of the great associations like the National Catholic Welfare Conference or the National Council of the Churches of Christ are without doubt among the most influential of any organizational statements—no other bodies can claim to represent from 30 to 40 million persons! Notwithstanding the fact that there is considerable debate as to whether or not the influence of organized religion in the United States is increasing or declining, it

does seem defensible to conclude that today that influence is considerable, and, not least in the field of education, must be reckoned with.

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The Churches in Charge of the Schools

Historical Overview. The study of anthropology indicates that a rather constant feature of social organization is the institution of an educational program controlled in some degree by the dominant religion. Certainly, church supervision of education is as old as recorded history itself, and as continuous, for most if not all the pre Christian civilizations were featured by some degree of religious sponsorship of education. The professional schools maintained by the Egyptian priesthood, the close contact between education and certain religious activities which characterized classical Greece and Rome, and especially the almost total infusion of Judaic or Hebraic education with religious sanction and clerical symbolism—these illustrate the antiquity of the idea of church responsibility for education

As we have already seen, a key principle in the conventional interpretation of the life of Christ has been an emphasis on his labors as a *teacher*. As Christ taught his disciples, by example, precept, and parable, so they were admonished to carry on and to spread his teachings. "Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations" has stood, for all Christian churches, as an obligatory charge which could not be shirked or avoided. It is not surprising that today all Christian denominations maintain a vital interest in the conduct of education, both private and public, secular as well as denominational.

The early Christian Church may be said to have depended upon education for its very existence. Among its first systematic efforts was the establishment and maintenance of schools. These were essential, in the beginning, for the training and induction of neophytes and converts, and later for the preparation of a corps of church leaders. It was this group of schools, stressing the gospels, rituals, and observances of early Christianity, which survived the collapse of imperial Rome and which became the nucleus for the educational activities of the medieval church. During the Middle Ages the Christian church was

the educational system. In the millennium following Rome's fall, there was no other agency or institution either so well equipped for or as interested in educational responsibility. With its near monopoly on intellectual talent and its assumed role as the preserver of Christian truth, the church was the logical, inevitable custodian of schools and learning. The ecclesiastical and temporal needs of the church resulted in the establishment of several types of schools which steadily took on secular educational responsibilities. The medieval monasteries maintained educational programs originally designed to teach the monks the basic skills required for manuscript copying, for reading the masses, and for simple computations. These monastic schools rapidly became agencies for providing a degree of literacy to boys of any station and without regard for their possible monkish intentions. Similarly schools grew up around the cathedrals. Here boys were trained for the choirs, a matter obviously necessitating some study of Latin. Here, too, classes were organized to prepare men for the various clerical offices. Out of these grew the system of parochial schools, designed for lay youth, and the great medieval universities which branched out from theology into the secular fields of medicine, law, and philosophy.

With the Protestant Reformation the commitment of churches to education was carried even further, at least in certain fundamental respects. Protestant churches, especially in Germany, Holland, and England, found it expedient to establish schools, colleges, and universities designed less for the training of the clergy and more for the infusion of Protestant principles into everyday life. Protestant churches, acting in the spirit of Luther, allied themselves with civil governments for the advancement and promotion of education. It is this action which marks the real beginnings of what might be called the modern *public* education system. (The activities of the Society of Jesus, the "flying squadron" of the Catholic counterreformation, in systematizing education were, at least for their time, equally significant.) These and other Protestant educational principles were among the convictions carried to New England by the Puritans and those who followed them. As we have already seen, concern for literacy, to read the Bible, and for citizenship, for the realization of the "kingdom of God on earth,"

these were central to the development in the New England colonies of a sense of public responsibility for education. Paradoxically, the growth of both public and denominational education in America is attributable to this inheritance of a tradition of church controlled schools.

From the seventeenth through the mid nineteenth century the growth of American education was largely a church led movement. The institution of the parochial school has been a constant feature of American life, all through the colonial period the several immigrant groups steadfastly made provision for the education of their children in the spirit of the ruling denomination. This tendency was intensified during the nineteenth century as immigration increased manifoldly and as public, nonsectarian education grew ever more popular. The establishment of parochial schools was accelerated markedly after the 1840s, the period in which for the first time large numbers of Catholics came to the United States. The academies of the early nineteenth century were also, in considerable measure, the fruits of a continuing church interest in education. Many, if not most of these typically American institutions, were wholly or partially sponsored and supported by religious denominations.

It is probably at the collegiate level that denominational sponsorship of education in America has been most pronounced and most significant. The founding of Harvard, previously noted, and of other colonial colleges as well, was motivated chiefly by a concern that an adequately trained ministry be maintained. This theological emphasis conditioned the character not only of the colleges but also of the secondary schools which prepared for them. The nineteenth century, notably after the decision in the Dartmouth College case, was a period of the most extensive establishment of church colleges. Bower reports that by 1900, 494 colleges had been founded in the United States and that of these all but 24 were established by churches.⁴ While many of these were unwisely or inauspiciously instituted and have since disappeared and while, since 1900, relatively few new church colleges have been founded, the influence of denominational higher education in America remains

⁴ William C. Bower, *The Church at Work in the Modern World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935), p. 119.

profound. When one considers the place of the several Catholic colleges and universities in the United States, particularly those under Jesuit administration, the collegiate institutions maintained by such denominations as the Baptists, the Presbyterians, the Lutherans, or the Quakers, and the continuing religious influence in those nonsectarian colleges with denominational origins, it is clear that church-inspired education is still a considerable force in American higher education.

Denominational Education in the United States Today. Later in this chapter we shall be concerned with the current status of Sunday and Sabbath schools and of the religious education movement, particularly as the latter pertains to the conduct of public schools. Here we shall consider the present position of church-controlled or parochial education which parallels the institutions of a public or a private nonsectarian character. It is variously estimated that from 12 to 15 percent of the nation's children and youth attend nonpublic schools and colleges. Approximately 10 percent of children attending elementary school are enrolled in private elementary schools. In some states more than 50 percent of college enrollees are in private colleges and universities. At the elementary and secondary levels by far the greater proportion of private school students are attending parochial or denominational schools. At the college level the figure for church colleges is considerable.

Table 22-1 ATTENDANCE IN DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOLS, 1937, 1947, AND 1952

Denomination	1937		1947		1952	
	Pupils	Schools	Pupils	Schools	Pupils	Schools
Roman Catholic	2,431,289	10,050	2,607,879	10,188	3,390,803	11,060
Lutheran	74,951	1,185	96,041	1,296	117,867	1,410
Seventh Day Adventists*	22,757	780	35,219	970	29,724	919
Reformed churches	13,747	85	21,175	120	26,651	156
Mennonites	125	4	2,106	35	3,463	57

* Elementary school only

Source: *Information Service* (New York, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U. S. A., May 3, 1952) p. 3, and *Summary of Catholic Education 1952-1954*, Washington, D. C., National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1954, p. 36.

According to a study reported by the National Council of the Churches of Christ in America, there has been over the past twenty years a steady rise in the number attending denominational schools and in the number of such schools. The foregoing statistics (Table 22 1) depict the trend at the elementary and high school levels.

Obviously, the overwhelming strength of parochial education lies in the Roman Catholic school system. The details of the size and breakdown of the Catholic school enrollment and of the faculty employed to teach that abundant body are detailed for 1952 in Table 22 2 on page 482.

These statistics highlight the tremendous emphasis which the Catholic Church is placing upon parochial elementary education. While it is not germane to this chapter to embark upon a discussion of the arguments advanced for and against parochial education, we should note that the churches which maintain these systems of schools see serious shortcomings in the conduct of public education. The Catholic Church in particular finds public education wanting in Christian orientation and charges the public school with fostering and encouraging a secularism and a materialism which Catholics cannot condone. It is out of religious and moral conviction of this sort that parochial education is maintained.

The data cited above do not present a complete picture of denominational education for significant, though lesser, efforts of Christian Churches have been omitted. The parochial school programs of the Protestant Episcopal, Mormon, and smaller sects are growing and vigorous, in many communities the challenge they present to public education is unmistakably clear. Nor do these statistics take account of the extensive educational programs maintained by the Jewish congregations. As with the Catholic Church, Jewish educational activities extend from the primary grades through the university.

The impression which *might* be received from this discussion of burgeoning denominational education and of grave threats to the continued ascendancy of public education would be quite erroneous. As we have seen, public education is expanding at a great rate, and it will have to expand still further in the immediate future. The presence of a healthy, sound, private or denominational educational system

Table 22.2 NATIONAL SUMMARY OF ALL CLASSES OF CATHOLIC EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS FOR 1954

Types	No of Schools	Faculty		Total	Men	Students		Total
		Religious	Lay			Women	Unclassified	
Seminaries	118	1,294	36	1,330	11,623	—	—	11,623
Major	176	1,932	102	2,034	17,955	—	—	17,955
Minor								
Universities and Colleges	85	3,544	9,295	12,839	142,962	57,266	958	201,186
For Men	139	4,232	2,000	6,232	3,367	77,446	—	80,813
For Women								
Diocesan Teachers Colleges and Normal Tr Sch	25	556	59	615	194	5,900	—	6,094
Secondary Schools	2,206	26,235	5,595	31,830	263,737	325,056	34,958	623,751
Elementary Schools	9,279	67,477	9,356	76,833	1,531,805	1,511,120	192,326	3,235,251
TOTAL IN U S	12,118	105,270	26,443	131,713	1,971,643	1,976,788	228,242	4,176,673

Source: *Summary of Catholic Education, 1953-1954*, National Catholic Welfare Conference, Department of Education, Washington, D C., 1956, 35

side by side with the public schools is eminently desirable and essential to a democratic culture. We note again that nonpublic education constitutes a challenge to public education today as it has in the past. Certain of the problems, some would say dangers, inherent in this dual educational endeavor are to be considered in a chapter to follow. But it is abundantly clear that the private church-controlled school or college is both a necessary and a much-to-be-desired element in the total American educational scene.

For the church colleges the twentieth century has been a period of uncertainty and considerable dislocation. The role of the denominational college is by no means as clear or as clearly definable today as it was during most of the nineteenth century. The result is a declining status for the church college. Of the several hundred denominational colleges founded prior to 1900, only a relatively small percentage remains church controlled. Many have simply disappeared, others have severed their church connections, still others have been incorporated into larger secular institutions. The chief causes for the reduced influence of denominational colleges have been the increased state provisions for higher education, the rapid growth of junior colleges, and the attempts of church colleges to compete with the public institutions by which process the church colleges have begun to lose their uniqueness. Basic to these developments has been the underlying current of secularism which has vastly changed the climate in which these colleges must operate. Bower neatly pinpointed the problem currently facing the church college when he wrote ⁵

The church's educational function as regards higher education is at present involved in much confusion and great difficulty. The church needs to think through its function on the college level in the light of the changed educational scene. That there is need for the Christian ideal in higher education no one in the church will deny. That the traditional program of the church college is inadequate to satisfy this need few would question.

The activities of the churches in fulfilling what was their original purpose in establishing colleges, the training of ministers, have also undergone considerable change. Whereas at first the professional prep

⁵ Bower, *op cit* p. 123. Used by permission.

aration of church leaders was administered and controlled by the several denominations separately, the modern trend is increasingly (except in the Roman Catholic and Jewish churches) in the direction of inter or nondenominational theological education. Today the leading seminaries and divinity schools are either independent, jointly sponsored institutions or are among the professional schools (for example, business, law, medicine, education) of large universities. Much of the leadership in theological education has devolved upon such institutions as the Union Theological Seminary in New York City or the graduate schools of divinity at such universities as Yale or Chicago. Thus, too, would seem to be in line with the trends of the day and to reflect the willingness of many Protestant sects to adapt their educational endeavors to changed conditions.

The current patterns of church-controlled education include two other programs, each of which has reached and influenced many millions of persons. At least one of these two may someday assume proportions of universal influence in American education. We turn next to consider the Sunday-school program and the more recent and potentially more pervasive religious education movement.

The Sunday School

Sunday schools appear to have been born out of the humanitarianism which was a characteristic of late eighteenth-century England. Philanthropists, churches, and benevolent societies, concerned over the immorality and illiteracy of children who worked six days a week, organized schools to be held on Sundays as a means of imparting a little elementary instruction in the Bible accompanied by some training in reading, writing, and computation. The idea was imported into America where Sunday schools rather quickly became quite popular. Their advent coincided with the emergence of a system of universal public elementary education in the United States and with the application to public education of the principle of church-state separation. The resultant *secular* public school system removed from the Sunday school the need to provide instruction in the 3 R's but at the same time thrust forcefully upon the churches an increased responsibility

for religious education American churches, therefore, appropriated the Sunday school, divested of its philanthropic secular educational objectives, as a means of carrying out their religious mission. The Sunday school came to be regarded as 'the nursery of the church.' After some protests about the impropriety of holding school on the Sabbath, this conception of the Sunday school was rapidly accepted and the newly oriented agency underwent a speedy growth.

Historically, the Sunday school has been primarily a Protestant institution, although recently non-Protestant bodies have begun to adapt its uses to their particular needs. At first each denomination developed its own curriculum, lessons, and teaching devices, producing what someone was moved to call the first babel. Toward the close of the nineteenth century Protestant denominations began to realize that the disorganized, heterogeneous, and unprofessional programs that had developed were not producing the desired educational results. Closer interdenominational relations and more uniform programs were effected with generally favorable consequences.

Data for 1954 for all but a few of the 268 reported religious groups, indicate that enrollment in Sunday school is decidedly on the increase. According to figures released by the National Council of Churches of Christ in America, nearly 38 million pupils were then enrolled in Sunday and Sabbath schools. This represents an increase of almost 13 million over 1947 and constitutes a rate of increase more than double that for the total population. The most striking increases were registered in several non-Protestant churches, especially the Jewish and Roman Catholic bodies. It should also be noted that sizable gains have been made in the church-conducted vacation schools.

Bower's summation of the contemporary character of the Sunday school is instructive:

The temper of the movement was pietistic rather than educational in any fundamental and scientific sense. It has throughout remained a lay movement, the teaching of religion having been committed to consecrated but untrained persons who were otherwise professionally or vocationally engaged. Its educational objectives have for the most part been concerned with the teaching of the Bible as an authoritative revelation of divine truth. While the public school addressed itself to the

total child population of the nation, and to increasingly larger numbers of its youth, the Sunday school followed the sectarian organization of American Protestantism. As a result, it has ministered for the most part to the child and youth constituencies of the several denominations, leaving more than half of the total childhood and youth of the nation untouched.⁶

The Religious Education Movement

The early years of the twentieth century saw arising a growing dissatisfaction among church leaders with the conduct of religious education. As public education expanded and in the elementary grades approached universality and as that education came to take on more of a professional and scientific cast, increasingly the Sunday school program was felt to be inadequate. Religious leaders began to sense that a new type culture, industrial and technological, had begun to mature and that the conventional media of religious education had not adapted to this fundamental change. They noted the striking and potentially far reaching developments in the psychology of teaching and learning which had appeared and sensed the degree to which these were relevant to religious instruction. They contemplated the increasing recognition being accorded to experimentalism and the methods of science and contrasted this with the doctrinaire, uncritical approach to religion which characterized the Sunday school.

Out of this discontent and this urge to reform was formed in 1903 the Religious Education Association. Lay and clerical educators from Roman Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant churches joined to promote a program of religious education which would be more consonant with the times. Its purpose, as declared in its constitution, was and continues to be "To inspire the educational forces of our country with the religious ideal, to inspire the religious forces of our country with the educational ideal, and to keep before the public mind the ideal of religious education, and the sense of its need and value."⁷ Led by such men as William Rainey Harper, President of the University of

⁶ Bower *op cit* pp 111 112

⁷ As quoted in John S. Brubacher *A History of the Problems of Education* (New York, McGraw Hill 1947) pp 347 348

Chicago, and George A. Coe of Teachers College, Columbia University, the Religious Education Association was designedly an attempt to combine the talents of religious leaders and professional—and progressive—educators.

The continuing objectives of this association seem clearly to have been three in particular. From its inception this organization has labored to define and formulate a more relevant, more functional religious education curriculum. At the same time it has been engaged in the search for more effective methods and techniques by which the religious instruction might be carried on. Finally, and encompassing the other two, the Religious Education Association considers its primary over all responsibility to be that of ensuring religious education a real, functioning, central place in the total educational experience—and at all levels.

The results of these labors, abetted by like minded but unaffiliated interests of diverse sorts, are to be seen in two of the most significant, and at the same time most controversial, features of contemporary American education: the released-time religious education program and the insistent demand that religious education be made an integral part of the public school experience. A corollary and to a degree derivative issue is seen in the increasing agitation for a program of public support of parochial education. All three of these questions are to be examined in the chapter on the role of religion in public education. While all reflect a growing interest in and concern for the place of religion in the total educational enterprise, on none of them is church or educational leadership in agreement. Acute questions of denominational emphasis, general public welfare, legality, and constitutionality are inextricably bound up in their resolution. Perhaps no educational questions are more pressing or more serious.

* * *

In summary, it is clear beyond dispute that the churches of America have a vital and central interest in the conduct of education. Their traditions and history, as well as their commitments, do not permit an aloofness or a disinterest where education is concerned. The spiritual power which they exist to mobilize and the political power which

they can claim to represent are among the greatest social forces in the country. The educational policies of churches, both for their own programs and with regard to the conduct of public education, must be considered as among the most influential statements of any organized group. It is well that we ask as we examine such pronouncements, as is our task in a subsequent chapter, to what extent are these policies in the interest of national welfare and to what extent are they designed merely to advance the interest of a particular sect or denomination? Teachers and the general public as they consider the various problems which surround the promotion of a program of public education need to be fully aware of the relation of churches to that program. It would be difficult to overestimate the contribution to public education which could be made by a balanced, liberal, socially responsive body of churches, non-Christian as well as Christian. It would be equally difficult to overestimate the dangers to public education and to the nation generally inherent in the subordination of public education to narrowly sectarian ends, to the essentially political objectives of some religious organization.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

BASIC QUESTION Examine the educational pronouncements of some leading religious denominations. In how far is there basic agreement among the churches? At what points arise fundamental policy differences?

1. What proportion of the American educational enterprise is carried on under the auspices of religious organizations? Is this figure increasing or decreasing? Does this in any sense represent a challenge to public education? How would you define that challenge?
2. Are certain denominations more active in their educational efforts than others? In particular sections of the country? In urban as opposed to rural areas? Among particular social classes? How do you account for these differences?
3. What is the responsibility of the teacher whose teachings are refuted or denied by the pronouncements or teachings of a Sunday school or church? How should such a teacher conduct himself in this situation?
4. How effective, in terms of its own unique objectives, has the released-time religious education program been?

- 5 What are some of the current trends in the conduct of Sunday school education?

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The Role of Private Philanthropy in American Education¹

Individual or Personal Educational Philanthropy

A CONTINUING FEATURE of life in America has been the willingness of private individuals to support, voluntarily, all manner of social welfare programs, from child care to homes for the aged and from recreation to medicine. This support has traditionally operated in a spirit of independence and noncoercion, in the belief that private energies would produce healthier results than would governmental authority. Today public welfare programs have assumed much of the responsibility that was formerly borne by private benevolence and the trend is clearly toward continued expansion of this phase of government service. We cannot here enter into a discussion of the propriety or the wisdom of increased governmental welfare programs but it would be a grievous error to conclude that the need for or the challenge to private philanthropy has ceased to exist.

For no field are these things more true than for education. The

¹The historical data in this chapter are based largely upon Shelby M. Harrison and F. Emerson Andrews, *American Foundations for Social Welfare* (New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1946). Other sources will be cited.

American people are committed, and that with deep conviction, to the maintenance of an expanding *public* school system—in a democracy it could not be otherwise. But the very fact of this democratic commitment carries with it an obligation to ensure that *other* educational avenues and opportunities are also promoted. It follows that private efforts on behalf of education are all the more vital and essential in proportion as public education expands. To this, too, by history and tradition the American people are committed.

While the activities of the major foundations are more spectacular and receive more publicity, the dedicated generosity of countless individual donors is cumulatively more important and, in the long run, probably more influential. Andrews, in a report for the Russell Sage Foundation, noted that the low income families, by virtue of their greater number, contribute by far the largest proportion of the total of philanthropic gifts.² He found that in 1943, 60 percent of all philanthropy came from families with net incomes below \$3000 a year, and that 82 percent of the donations were supplied by families whose incomes were under \$5,000.

It is not possible to determine the proportion of such gifts which is applied to the support of education. The moneys thus donated are tendered to churches, charitable societies, Community Chests, the American Red Cross, and innumerable other agencies, many of which devote large portions of their funds to educational purposes. Of course, many of these individual donations are made to schools and colleges directly and are frequently simply added to the endowed capital of the institution. It is safe to assume, however, that the total contribution of these individual gifts to the support of educational activity is enormous.

Everyone is familiar with the fact that large individual gifts have been made expressly to establish new educational institutions. The University of Chicago, Stanford University, and Duke University are cases in point. In these instances considerable fortunes were assigned for the maintenance and support of a particular school. But these are the exceptions. The vast majority of private or independent schools

² F. Emerson Andrews, *Philanthropic Giving* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1950).

and colleges subsist, over and above what is collected in tuition, on funds which represent the combined donations of hundreds of thousands of interested people. Thus over the years scholarship funds are built up, library resources are expanded, teaching facilities are enhanced, or faculty salaries are increased. Recently a small private college dedicated a new gymnasium which was built by funds contributed by approximately 8,500 persons over a period of fifteen years. This experience is by no means unique. Today it is generally estimated that from one quarter to one third (and sometimes as high as one half) of the cost of an individual student's education in a private institution is met with funds, or the income therefrom, supplied by private donation.

The gifts of business interests to education—while not always, strictly speaking, philanthropy—are gaining markedly in importance and must be included in any discussion of private activity in behalf of education. In the past, corporate donations to schools and colleges have tended to be directed to the support of specific research programs or for scholarships in particular fields. Increasingly, business leaders are making funds available for more general educational purposes (see Chapter 19) with the use of the moneys to be determined by the recipient school or scholarship student. Dr. Andrews reported that between 1936 and 1951 corporate gifts rose from \$30 million to over \$300 million.³ Apparently it is safe to assume that a very large share, if not most, of these funds is devoted to education. A study of publicly announced giving in ten large cities in 1954 found that over \$222 million had been given for educational support.

The Private Foundations in American Education

Their History. Harrison and Andrews state that 'The broad purpose of foundations is the distribution of wealth for the public good—a new and more scientific attitude toward giving, stressing the discovery of facts, education, prevention, correction, and cure as contrasted with

³ F. Emerson Andrews, *Corporation Giving* (New York, Russell Sage Foundation 1952).

relief of individual need' While today the foundation, particularly in the United States, is more influential and more prominent than ever before, as a feature of institutional life it has a long history Xenophon, we are told, left lands as endowment for a temple to Artemis Plato's Academy was the beneficiary of bequests of real estate, and the famous library at Alexandria was handsomely supported by the first Ptolemy Under the encouragement of certain of the more progressive Roman emperors foundations were encouraged to support the needs of the people rather than to honor the gods The famous Roman teacher Quintilian was subsidized in his educational efforts by the Emperor Vespasian Much of the educational program of the medieval church might be described as operating on a foundational basis This was especially true, of course, of the medieval universities

In the United States the foundation system may be said to have been started by Benjamin Franklin At his direction there was established, after his death in 1790, a fund in Boston and Philadelphia to assist young married artificers of good character, with loans up to \$300 at 5 percent interest In 1846, as the result of a gift of \$500,000 from an English scientist, Congress established the Smithsonian Institution whose subsequent contributions to American science and technology have been out of all proportion to the size of the bequest Perhaps the first important philanthropy to approach the form of the modern foundation was the Peabody Education Fund Granted in 1867 by George Peabody, an American merchant living in England, this gift of \$2 million was to 'aid the stricken South' through education The benefits to the South, and to the entire nation, which can be traced to this grant are immeasurable It not only supplied money where money was desperately needed, it promoted educational leadership and encouraged other private individuals and public authorities to attend to the educational rehabilitation of the South Its influence continues vigorous and dynamic through the activities of the George Peabody College for Teachers in Nashville, Tennessee.

In the history of American foundations, however, no one was more important than Andrew Carnegie His attitudes, his principles, and the organization of philanthropy which he inspired are in large part the models for the conduct of foundations today By the time he was

thirty three years of age he was receiving an income of \$50,000 per year, it is significant that at that time he resolved to devote his wealth to benevolent and charitable uses. It was Carnegie who crystallized the since prevalent principle of the "stewardship of wealth" "The millionaire will be but a trustee for the poor, intrusted for a season with a great part of the increased wealth of the community, but administering it for the community far better than it could or would have done for itself . . . The man who dies thus rich [i.e., having selfishly hoarded his money] is disgraced."⁴ For the realization of this ideal, Carnegie conceived of the philanthropist's function as one of providing 'ladders' whereby those with ability, will, and determination could improve themselves. With such a conception of his responsibility it was natural that his primary efforts were in the realm of education. By the time of his death in 1919 Carnegie had given over \$60 million to the building of some 2,800 library buildings. The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching and the Carnegie Corporation of New York had been established, both primarily concerned with the over all improvement of American education. Much of American private education is a monument to his example, and the entire American educational system is deeply in his debt.

It was clearly within this spirit and pattern that, late in 1955, the largest single gift in the history of philanthropy was made. The Ford Foundation granted \$500 million to the private colleges, universities, and hospitals of the country. Of this money—and supplementing an earlier bequest of \$50 million—\$210 million was given to 615 private educational institutions specifically for the purpose of raising the salaries of their teachers. Another \$90 million was granted for strengthening privately supported medical schools. (The remaining \$200 million was dedicated to the improvement and extension of the nation's 3,500 private hospitals.) Some words of Henry Ford II in the statement announcing this magnificent bequest are most appropriate as indicating the growing feeling of corporation responsibility for public welfare, in this instance in the realm of education.

⁴ Quoted in Harrison and Andrews, *op cit* p 19

All the objectives of higher education ultimately depend upon the quality of teaching. In the opinion of the foundation's trustees, private and corporate philanthropy can make no better investment of its resources than in helping to strengthen American education at its base—the quality of its teaching.

Industry, commerce, government, the arts, the sciences and the professions—indeed our whole way of life—depends heavily upon the quality of our education. Recognizing this fact, the trustees of the Ford Foundation want to do everything they can to emphasize the cardinal importance of the college teacher to our society.⁵

Occasionally one is confronted by the claim that the beneficences of the wealthy have been motivated not by humanitarian impulses but by a "guilt complex," by the feeling that the wealth was illegitimately gained and is therefore tainted. It is also often held that those who establish foundations do so with the deliberate intention of serving the interests of reaction, of forestalling developments of social reform by aiding institutions or causes more likely to preserve the status quo. Perhaps even more frequently one is told that behind most, if not all, philanthropic giving is the urge to escape or reduce tax payments to government. Most students of American philanthropy seem not to accept this sort of interpretation. On the contrary, say Harrison and Andrews, "no one who has examined closely the beginnings of many modern foundations is likely to escape one conclusion: most of the founders were seized by a social vision which stirred them deeply, and which was in many instances a modern expression of religious feeling." To this can be added, in the words of Frederick P. Keppel of the Carnegie Corporation: "an almost mystical belief in education . . ."

Types of Foundations. Educational foundations have taken a number of forms. Probably the most common type is in the form of a memorial bequest which establishes and maintains a particular "chair" or professorship, a regular program of lectures or special research, a library collection, or a scholarship. Examples of these are the Niemann fellowships in journalism and the Inglis Lectures at Harvard, the Sather Professorship in History at the University of California, or the famous and esteemed Guggenheim fellowships for research. *Increas-*

⁵ As quoted in *New York Times*, December 13, 1955, p. 32.

ingly the contributions of alumni to their alma maters are pooled and coordinated in foundation-type programs; these are usually applied to the general support of the school or college. There are also foundations which act as trustees for funds which have been granted for the education of specified types of persons. An interesting instance of this is the John Edgar Thompson Foundation, established in 1882 to finance the education of children of railroad workers killed while on duty.

Funds have been made available and foundations established to promote research in specific areas. Usually these have been inaugurated by business or industry as in the case of the Statler Foundation for study in hotel management. Occasionally the process has been reversed, and the results of research have made possible the development of foundation programs. A recent example is the endowment, out of the income accruing to the phenomenally successful researches of Waxman in the field of antibiotics, of an extensive foundation in biology and pharmacology at Rutgers University.

In addition to these, there are the great philanthropic foundations whose original and over all purposes are general, but whose activities almost always include education. The spirit and direction of the operations of the great foundations are perhaps best indicated by citing their stated objectives. The Rockefeller Foundation was established "to promote the well-being of mankind throughout the world." The purpose of the Carnegie Corporation is to foster "the advancement and diffusion of knowledge" throughout the English speaking world by aiding schools, colleges, libraries, research, and so on. The younger, larger Ford Foundation will operate "to receive and administer funds for scientific, educational, and charitable purposes, all for the public welfare."

"In general," write Harrison and Andrews, "the board of trustees of a foundation *is* the foundation." Ordinarily, if a foundation or trust is established by a donor before his death, he selects and, to a degree at least, instructs the original board. It is the function of such trustees to attempt to administer the moneys left in their charge in accordance with the declared or implied intentions of the donor, and to carry on

this work after his death. Normally, such boards of trustees are self-perpetuating. There is a tendency for boards to provide that none of their members shall be over sixty-five years of age, but the "typical trustee," says Lindeman, is well past middle age.⁶ He is also a man (only 3 percent of trustees were women in the mid 1930s), wealthy or at least economically secure to a high degree, possessed of high social status, the product of a liberal arts rather than a scientific or technological education, and a graduate of a private college (most frequently one located in the north-eastern region).

Edward C. Jenkins described the great foundations as "the freest of out enterprises." Of their role in American life he wrote:⁷

By losing themselves in great undertakings, these societies may become in fact custodians of the values by which men live and for which they die. Their place in American life must be fought for, but it may become great. Their bulk is small, relative to the restless ocean of American institutions, but, like the Gulf Stream, philanthropic societies may change the social climate of our own and other nations.

That this applies to the role of foundational philanthropy in American education is both a truth and a challenge.

Educational Philanthropy

Philanthropic giving in general and gifts to education in particular are conditioned now and will be shaped in the future by two key factors. In the first place, while present tax policies appear to stimulate benevolent contributions (through the use of individual and corporate deductions from income), the rates of taxation are such that the number of large fortunes is not growing at anything like the rate of increase in the over-all national wealth. Reports of the Treasury Department on the number of income tax returns listing yearly incomes of \$1 million or more indicate the trend.

⁶ Edward C. Lindeman, *Wealth and Culture* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1936), pp. 44-45.

⁷ Quoted in *Information Service* bulletin of the National Council of Churches of Christ in America, Vol. 30, No. 2 (Jan. 13, 1951), p. 3. Used by permission.

<i>No. of reported incomes of \$1 million</i>		<i>No. of reported incomes of \$1 million</i>	
<i>Year</i>	<i>or more</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>or more</i>
1914	60	1939	45
1916	206	1942	40
1920	33	1944	62
1923	74	1946	94
1925	207	1948	149
1929	513	1950	219
1932	20	1952	148
1936	61	1953	145

In the second place, governmental activity has tended more and more to assume responsibility in areas hitherto served by private and independent agencies. As civil jurisdictions at all levels enter such fields as health, housing, and social security, many of the conventional outlets for private philanthropy are closed or restricted.

What, then, are the trends? The establishment of large foundations by individual donors grows increasingly unlikely; the Ford Foundation, indeed, may be the last of these. Similarly, great bequests to schools and colleges grow rarer. Nevertheless, as Andrews notes:

"On balancing considerations of national income, philanthropic motive, and tax factors, it seems probable that organizations of the foundation type will continue to be set up in considerable numbers. Many of these will be small, some of moderate size, and a possibility remains that a few more very large foundations may arise."

[F. Emerson Andrews, *Philanthropic Foundations*, New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1956, 338.]

However, different sources must be found. From the small independent college to the great private university, campaigns are under-way to interest the public generally in the problem of maintaining the solvency and the integrity of the private institution. Those interested in the promotion of philanthropic endeavor are encouraging the formation of community trusts whereby the resources of many small donors may be combined. Appeals from all quarters are directed at the man of modest means to participate in what has until recently been conceived as the province only of the wealthy.

And toward the fulfillment of what objectives are these energies now being directed? The entrance of government into the realm of social service may have removed certain areas from private concern, though this is extremely doubtful. Unquestionably, there are new and essential fields for private philanthropic effort *fields which may in fact be more effectively handled privately* which are desperately in need of support or awaiting research and investigation. In education these areas of need are clear and urgent. No private school has escaped the impact of higher costs, all private schools are today forced to live on endowments whose investment produces a far smaller return than formerly. For the independent educational institution the simple problem of general maintenance grows increasingly crucial. But specific phases of the educational program appear to be receiving special emphasis in the call for increased support. Of particular importance, in the face of rising educational costs, are programs of student aid and scholarship. Equally critical are campaigns directed at the increasing of rewards for teachers and professors. Higher living costs, plus the availability of attractive salaries in other avenues of employment, have acted to discourage many from entering or remaining in the teaching profession. Funds are urgently needed to supplement salaries, facilitate individual research, and stabilize retirement programs. To these and other ends, notably the support of special research, private educational philanthropy is increasingly being devoted. If, as so many firmly believe, the private educational institution is an integral element of the American democratic community, the support of such institutions is in these times a crucial democratic responsibility.

* * *

On the whole, how well are the American people responding to this vital need? The answer must be: Not well enough. While, as the chart on the accompanying page indicates, the dollar amount of giving has increased in recent years, this increase has kept pace neither with rising individual incomes nor with growing educational costs. It is estimated that a typical family whose income between 1930 and 1950 was doubled increased the ratio of giving to total income by less than 0.5 percent. Thus, while a larger amount may have been forthcoming

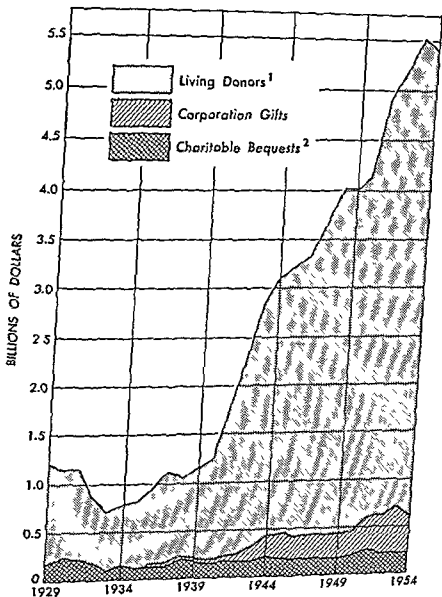
in the latter year, this did not represent an increase commensurate with the enlarged income. Nor is the picture enhanced when the moneys given for philanthropic ventures are compared with expenditures on amusements, liquor, or tobacco.

There appear to be three, and only three, alternative resolutions of the problem. One, of course, would be to allow private independent education to go by default, to continue to fail to support it adequately, perhaps with the rationalization that public education could manage the whole job. This, we reiterate, would be disastrous. A second road is one which is receiving increasing attention from the public and the profession, and increasing favor. This is the policy of expanded governmental support of private education. Advocates of this approach call for increased subsidies from the state and, especially, the Federal government. It is argued that the program of government supported veterans' education (the "GI Bill of Rights") demonstrated the soundness of a publicly underwritten scholarship program. It is further contended that the government, especially through the defense departments, is already subsidizing a sizable portion of college and university research and that this represents a healthy and a desirable development.⁸ We should note that while it is undeniably in the public interest to promote private education, it is not necessarily unreservedly in the interest of private education for it to come to depend upon governmental subsidy. Inevitably the application of public moneys to private institutions would involve the risk that those institutions would lose some of their "privacy," their independence. If it be true, as has here been implied, that American education has advanced as far as it has in large measure because of the contributions of private independent education, from kindergarten through graduate school, any policy that endangers that independent status is unsound and undesirable. Proposals, therefore, of state or federal aid to nonpublic schools must be devised with the most scrupulous care. They should not and cannot be counted upon as the solution to the problem of financing private education.

The third alternative then is the only genuinely acceptable road,

⁸ For collegiate reactions to government sponsored research programs see Hollis P. Allen, *The Federal Government and Education* (New York, McGraw Hill, 1950).

AN ESTIMATE OF PHILANTHROPIC GIVING, 1929-1954



¹ Preliminary estimate.

² Average 1947-1951.

Source: F. Emerson Andrews, *Philanthropic Giving* (N Y, Russell Sage Foundation, 1950). Revised by author to include 1950-1953 data

that of increased *independent* public support of private education. It has been the burden of this chapter to indicate the all important role that private educational philanthropy plays in the total American educational enterprise. Neither public policy nor personal apathy can be allowed to frustrate this essential effort. The choice is clear.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

BASIC QUESTION Continually rising costs of government require ever higher taxes which reduces the amount of private money available for educational philanthropy. Private schools, especially colleges, faced with rising costs and decreasing returns on endowment, must have more money. Is the only solution to this problem federal aid to private schools?

1. What are some of the leading educational philanthropies today and what sorts of projects are they supporting? Are these programs such that they would be better handled by public rather than private agencies? Why or why not?
2. What significant advances have been made in your field as a result of the support and encouragement of private philanthropy? In general, from what sources did this support come?
3. To what extent is the donor of assistance entitled to control or direct the uses to which his money is put? What obligations does this place upon the institution which might receive aid?
4. Insistently in recent years it has been contended by some that private foundations, since they benefit from tax exemption, should be subject to some governmental regulation. To what extent does this view express sound public policy, to what extent does it pose a threat to important free institutions?

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PART *seven*

FUNDAMENTAL
PROBLEMS IN
CONTEMPORARY
AMERICAN EDUCATION

We turn now to bring into sharper focus the several, oftentimes conflicting, approaches to education as we examine certain of the chief problems facing American education today. One's approach to any educational question is conditioned by one's educational philosophy, but these crucial problems involve also one's attitudes about government and democracy, about religion and morality, about the economic system, about life itself. As we attack such questions as equal educational opportunity, federal aid to education, or church state relationships in education, we are perforce dealing with crucial and pervasive social questions of the broadest significance and the most universal concern. It becomes the duty of every citizen to interest and familiarize himself with educational affairs. As student, teacher, parent, or taxpayer, he will be profoundly affected by the ways in which we deal with problems such as are discussed here. The profession cannot possibly "go it alone." There is urgent and limitless need for enlightened responsible citizen action in the field of education. Consideration of the questions which follow is essential to the study of education in and for a democracy.

In a sense this debate is reflected in the contentions of essentialism as it censures the all inclusiveness of an experimentalist educational program. But this is more than a question simply of what subjects are to be studied, what skills or techniques are to be developed through the schools. The question at issue here concerns the role of the school in the broadest sense as contributing to social morality. In this sense it is asked whether the school is doing the right things, is doing too much, or is not doing enough. The answer to such a question obviously is central to the determination of the character, the content, and the direction of the total school program.

Expansion Versus Retraction

One of the clearest expositions of this fundamental controversy is to be found in the writings of two very prominent contemporary educational theorists. Bernard Iddings Bell and Harold Rugg. These two unmistakably reflect the disagreement which exists between those who, on the one hand, believe that American education is attempting to do too much and those who, on the other hand, feel that the schools must still further expand their functions to meet the demands of the times.

The "Shunned Areas" in the School Experience. Harold Rugg, leading experimentalist and a central figure in educational controversy for the past quarter-century, has long held the "expansionist" view. From his experience as a high school teacher, professor (at Teachers College, Columbia University), and student of the sociology of education, Rugg argues vigorously for the assumption by the schools of even greater and more far reaching responsibilities than they are already carrying. While his position has been repeatedly stated in a number of writings, he makes his case most pointedly in *Foundations for American Education*. After canvassing the wealth of sociopolitical and biopsychological developments of the last fifty years and applying their results to the conduct of education, Rugg accuses the American school of continuing to ignore five fundamental aspects of life. These he calls the "shunned areas" of the curriculum and these, he insists, *must* be provided for if the school is to serve the democratic community in a manner which will ensure the continued health of that community.

He charges us to free ourselves from scholastic preconceptions, forget academic categories, and "put first things first" The five areas are ¹

1 WORK, PERSONALLY AND SOCIALLY USEFUL

Children and youth [must have] the experience of real work—and work for pay—while they are young, and . . . continue to work every month and year of their youth. They must find out what kinds of work they want to do and are best fitted to do Let them learn by working that *one's work is the center of his life* Only in this way can they learn what it is to work and the value of different kinds of work

Let them build regular habits of work Let them harden their habits of facing things that have to be done, no matter how disagreeable they are. Let them do all the kinds of labor that are necessary to keep a school going Let them get jobs in the community from the earliest possible years We will include them in the work of the home and in the long summer vacations we'll send them into other regions to learn other kinds of work First, and foremost then, WORK!

This is, perhaps, the hardest of all nuts for the educator to crack—to use the life of the community in such a way as to incorporate socially useful work into the education of young people To enlist *their* purposes, to make *what they do real to them and of use to the adult world, and at the same time to be truly educative*

See what a score of towns did in the war years, and before that under the NYA . . . They surveyed the work opportunities of their towns and fitted their educational plan into them . . . gardening, poultry raising, canning fruits and vegetables "on shares," ran cafeterias, served school lunches at cost, Entire student bodies went into harvest fields, or built and repaired school plants, furniture, and equipment, worked in offices, libraries, hospitals, and shipyards The historic Schneider part time plan—a week in the shop, a week in the school—was put to work Of course, much of this was stimulated by the emergency needs of man power in war, but something of the lesson of work for youth and of incorporating schools into the work life of the community will remain How much, we have no way of estimating, but a beginning has been made

¹ Harold Rugg, *Foundations for American Education* Copyright 1947 by World Book Company (Yonkers-on Hudson), pp 675 683 Reprinted by special permission

2. SEX, LOVE, AND HOME LIFE

Fused with the social curriculum, rarely separated from it, are the deeply rooted personal needs of youth [We must face] the primary aim of education to transform the egocentric, aggressive-defensive individuals, which little children are when they enter nursery school or kindergarten, into sensitive, cooperative Persons Central in this process is the tabooed problem of sex

If one focus of the ellipse of life is work and property, the other is sex and all that springs from it and is bound up around it. It is one of the driving mainsprings of action, the dynamo of our love, the motivating force that keeps us ever building our House and our Home, cultivating our scene The physical thing is the basis of it, and subtle though it is we must understand how to educate our children in the understanding and appreciation of it Sex is not to be feared, the School must not dodge it any longer It is to be respected and admired and treasured—*and educated*

3 THE PROBLEM OF INFERIORITY AND THE BUILDING OF STRONG PERSONS

But before the sex problems emerge in adolescence and after it, and all through life, there are manifold experiences and traits that have to do with personal fears and frustrations *At the bottom of it all is a sense of inferiority* We have read Freud and the psychoanalysts and psychiatrists, and while we think Freud overstressed sex and the supposed permanence of infantile repressed wishes nevertheless there is real guidance in the new psychiatry It has taught us that the conditions of family and community life breed inferiority in most of us and with it fears, anxieties, sense of guilt, and tendencies to rationalize and compensate and otherwise escape, only those few avoid them who are naturally self balanced and whose good fortune it was to have grown up in a very wise home We have no illusions about the egocentric traits of our children Growing up in a competitive society, they are indeed aggressive and defensive Individualists—even before they enter our School [The task of the school] is to help the home turn these individuals with their inherited and unique physiques, temperaments, and intelligences into mature, wise, cooperative, cultivated Persons

4 THE INSISTENT CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES OF THE SOCIAL SYSTEM

[We are asked] What are you going to do about controversial issues? Meet them head on we say Our studies of the psychology of problem solving show that to keep issues out of the school is to keep thought out of it, denude it of intellectual life

(1) *Property and the Struggle for Power*

The chief conflict theme that is intimately related to work is property and its role in personal and social life—in fact the whole problem of a full and frank study of society and culture With work the ownership of property is in our kind of society the guarantee of personal security but it is also the crux of our social problems today We are owners of property and we know the danger that the desire to preserve security tends to make one a partisan defender of a *laissez faire* system We want to avoid that if we can and yet keep property ownership as private as possible we want our children to be owners also but want them to be little owners—not monopolistic Big Owners. *We feel that the little ownership of property disseminated throughout the entire population is the surest foundation upon which to guarantee the perpetuation of the American democracy* Ownership widely disseminated gives all the people a personal stake in the nation its problems and conditions it prods them to study and keep alert to vote and share in government It is the surest way to relocate legitimate power in the individual men and women of the nation Jefferson said most of that and we have an unshakable faith in it today

But we know perfectly well that the trend is not toward the wide spread little ownership of property it is away from it—toward a menacing monopoly the time has come when *laissez faire* must be discarded for good and all Freedom no longer means absence of restraint—in any area of life It means a subtle balance between what one wants most to do and what the good of the community prescribes The new concept of freedom is *disciplined initiative* the principle that ownership carries the obligation of fullest development for the use of the people

(2) *Racial and Other Social Conflicts*

[The school must] bring our children the best documented facts concerning differences and inequalities between population groups

Teach the obvious facts that people differ in superficial things . . . but that the fundamental traits are common to all peoples. Get rid of the myth of black and white blood by teaching the scientific facts. Teach the oneness of the *human* race—the structure of the body, intelligence, temperament common to humanity. Teach the facts of relative equality in intelligence, and build respect for Outgroups by examples of their creative achievements in the world's history

On the side of knowledge the grasp of these facts will make some contribution, but *living together* will be more effective. Above all we must aim at building among our young people a high order of sensitivity to other people. The basic difficulty is psychological . . . *Although the passage of laws is needed to guarantee equal jobs, equal pay, equal education, equal opportunity in all things, it is only a first physical step. The long haul will be psychological and deeply educational. Admiration and liking cannot be legislated into being. They will grow only by social living and by slow advances in education until equality in education, sensitive awareness, and feeling is achieved.* Then, with economic and political equality achieved, mutual respect and admiration for sensitive self-cultivation on all sides will mark the disappearance of the problem. That is the long time goal. In the meantime in the School we shall take all the steps within our reach to move toward it.

(3) *The Control of Public Opinion*

All these problems are at bottom phases of the problem of consent in a democratic society. We know now that the consent of the people is not guaranteed merely by the statement of their freedoms in charters of liberty or in the actual erection of machinery for the popular suffrage. *The real nub of consent is that people shall understand their problems and conditions.* The Battle of Consent may well prove to be the chief battle of those who are now in our schools. . . . Hence one of the tasks of our School is to recognize the pitfalls in the way of popular understanding, the physical difficulty of getting the necessary facts to the people—especially of getting the facts to them organized in meaningful form so that their significance can be understood.

Hence we shall teach our youth . . . that while we have great admiration for the success of modern peoples in building a remarkable physical machinery of communication, barriers still stand between the people and the events which they must understand in order to carry on a world of peace and abundance . . . we build up a knowledge of

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The School Cannot Do Everything! Bernard Iddings Bell answers the claims of the expansionists with vigor and sincerity. He, too, speaks from a long professional educational experience—as teacher from grammar to graduate school, as college president, and as Consultant on Education to the Episcopal Bishop of Chicago. He has written a book detailing his assessment of the current American educational scene, with diagnoses, criticisms, and suggestions for a future course, under the title *Crisis in Education*.² In a chapter on “The Home and Education” Bell flatly calls for a reduction in the scope of the educational responsibility, insisting that the health of our society is jeopardized if we continue to assume “complacently” that the school is equal to a limitless burden.

One of the chief hindrances to decent education in America today is our overloading of the schools by placing on their shoulders responsibilities which in other times and other countries have as a matter of course been assumed by the home.

For this overloading, those in charge of the schools are at least partly to blame. They have been only too ready to assume and often to claim that they should look after the total development of growing boys and girls and that they can do a better job with and for them than their own fathers and mothers. Schoolmen have not been content with their former function, one largely of instruction, they have desired to deal with the whole child: his health and hygiene, his games and sports, his social growth, his manners and morals, the rounded development of his character. . . .

Anyone who listens to current school pretensions and who knows the facts about current school equipment and personnel and financial resources is bound to conclude that American education has for a long time been biting off more than it can chew. Parents, the public generally, have assumed that it could do and was doing what it pretended to be doing. The results of this are bad. Boys and girls have little or no time in the schools for a mastery of the old-fashioned school subjects, because overworked instructors are fooling around with attempts to integrate the characters of the poor little devils and nurse them into social and spiritual maturity—and failing at that too. The parents, lulled into a false sense of security, have already largely abdicated, the schools cannot take

² Bernard I. Bell, *Crisis in Education* (New York, McGraw Hill, 1949)

over, the progeny is not much fun to look at. Because it is undisciplined, it becomes irritable, unruly, unhappy, often a general nuisance, some times definitely antisocial, too frequently criminal.

While the blame for this tragicomic state of affairs is, as has been said, partly chargeable to the unrealistic pretensions of school administrators (school-of education professors aiding and abetting), who are understandably though unforgivably anxious to overmagnify their office, it must be remembered in all justice that the major share of responsibility lies with American parents. It is the job of the parents to show their boys and girls how to live and what to live for. If necessary they must sacrifice all their other activity to it. This business cannot be delegated effectively, any other method of maturing children is artificial and relatively ineffective. To let the schools try to take the job over and expect them to succeed at it is quite unreasonable.

Just what are parents to teach? They are responsible for teaching with such aid as they may get from the school and church, three things which only they can teach well, things which children must master if society is to function soundly, even if it is to continue, things which children must know if character is to develop. The first of these is good manners, how to get along with other people with a minimum of friction caused by assertiveness. The second is morals. These are more than manners. Manners have to do with how to live with others, while morals are concerned with how to live also with oneself, how to live for such ends as will satisfy the yearning for happiness and deliver one from a sense of frustration. Morals have to do incidentally with living with others, to be sure, and so they involve manners, but morals go deeper than manners. The third thing is religion which involves how to live with the Oneness of Things, with Totality of Purpose, in short, with God.

It is important that manners, morals, and religion should be taught well, for they are the most socially vital of all things that a child must learn.

Are the homes of America handling this, their educational business, in a competent manner? Less and less so with every passing year.

What are some of the reasons why the home is disappearing among us or, if not quite that, at least is being so changed that parents can no longer educate their children in terms of it with reasonable competency?

In the first place, more and more families have housing facilities in

sufficient in size and of a kind which make proper child rearing difficult, in many instances impossible . . . Not 5 per cent of the domiciles in New York City or in Chicago or in any other major American city are fit for the bringing up of children

Nor is our way of living conducive to an educative sharing of labor between parents and children . . . Gone from the home are those crafts the sharing of which was the best part of family life and the most effective device for character development. Children no longer feel that the home is *their* home, that they are contributing or can contribute anything much to its support and welfare.

Nor is it usual for the home to be any longer a scene of shared fun . . . No longer is this possible or at least easy. If a mid twentieth century parent wishes to provide amusement for his young, what does he do? The first thing he thinks of is to pack them off to the movies. Whatever may be the merits or the faults of the current cinema, at least it is not something that is home-centered. . . .

Again, it is not merely the children who do not stay at home but also the parents. Why are they not there? Frequently because they can not be . . . Even when working parents are at home, they are frequently too exhausted to welcome having small ones under foot

Sometimes we do not realize, either, the disintegrating effect upon family solidarity and therefore upon character education of two of the most popularly prized inventions of the last half century, the wireless and the motor car. The former has well nigh ruined the custom of reading aloud at home and has seriously interfered with family conversation. The latter has spread the roving wings of the young . . . There is no chance, of course, of going back to the horse and buggy era, the era of the music box and the parlor organ, and few of us would wish to do so even if we could. But we should at least recognize that in former times life with father was a great deal easier, more rewarding, more educative than it is in these later, noisier, more centrifugal days

Last but by no means least, there is small use in denying that the chief enemy of the American home is the increasing selfishness of the American adult. . . . [This selfishness] in more and more of our contemporary parents . . . manifests itself in neglect of children. Parents all too often pity themselves, run away from their plain duty, their chief job, their greatest avenue to the respect of God and of honest men. They place their own welfare, even their amusements ahead of the well being of their sons and daughters. They may, and usually do, see that the

boys and girls are clothed, fed, washed, have their teeth attended to, but to make pals of them, to live with them, to laugh and cry and work and play with them, lovingly but firmly to discipline them, this takes too much time and effort altogether. The American parent tends increasingly to pamper himself or herself. In consequence little is taught to the children by precept and less by example. Then the parents dump their progeny at the feet of the schoolmaster and schoolmistress and say, "Here, we have no time to bring these youngsters up, nor have we any stomach for the job. You take them over, as totally as possible, and do what we will not do for our own. Train them in character, that is what you get paid for."

Schoolmen would be more wise, more honest than they usually are, if they said in reply to taxpayers, to the community, above all to parents, "We refuse to take on ourselves responsibility for the character development of your children. We shall do our bit by them, but you must give them the more important part of that training in your own homes. If because of community maladjustments you can no longer do this, then rectify the social wrongs, do not push off the malformed and stunted youngsters on us and then blame us for their deficiencies. If you can do your job and will not, let the responsibility for what your boys and girls turn out to be rest where it belongs—on your own heads, not on ours. If, as seems not unlikely, our civilization comes to ruin because the oncoming generation lacks character, that will be too bad, but if it happens, know this: *we will not take the blame*." Instead, partly because many school people are puffed up with a sense of imagined omnipotence and partly because, even when they know that they cannot do their own difficult work plus the work of parents, they have pity on poor, home neglected little tikes, they tend more and more to be obedient to the demand of incompetent fathers and mothers and try their best to take on the spiritual foundlings. This is noble of those in the schools, it is also stupid of them. From their softhearted foolishness all suffer: the children, the increasingly heedless progenitors, the pedagogues themselves who fail and are berated for it, the commonwealth generally.³

³ *Crisis in Education* by Bernard I. Bell. Published by the McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1949. Chap. 6, *passim*, pp. 78-100. Used by permission.

A Middle Road?

Are these two positions actually as far apart as they seem? To be sure, one maintains that the contemporary school is trying to do too much and hence not doing anything well enough, while the other insists that new avenues of school responsibility are mandatory. One holds that parents, realizing the complexities of modern living and their own inadequacies, are asking that the schools *help* them in meeting the most critical problems of child rearing. The other accuses parents, for a variety of reasons, of having abdicated their responsibilities and of demanding that the schools *assume* these functions. But, beyond this, are there not some underlying areas of agreement which may suggest something of the course that American education must take in the future?

Clearly there is a danger in treating the school as though its resources and its capacities were limitless. Both Rugg and Bell seem to recognize this. Bell sees the great danger as lying in the possibility that parental irresponsibility will be encouraged, that the business of providing sound moral education will go by default since the school simply can not take the place of the home. Rugg too finds the school's capacities to be limited and calls for the mobilization, not just of the home, but of the entire community to enhance the conduct of education. It would be difficult to conceive of an educational challenge to a community as being something distinct or separate from a charge upon parents. At this point perhaps we can say with Bell that the school must act to encourage and enhance parental educational responsibility but that this can be accomplished, as Rugg clearly implies, only by the intelligent dedicated cooperation of the school with the home.

In the second place, are the ultimate objectives of the two positions really in opposition? Bell argues that the most important things to be learned are in the areas of morals, manners, and religion. He holds these to be chiefly in the province of parental obligation, but he finds American parents and American homes increasingly unsuited to the job. Rugg calls for greater educational efforts in meeting the problems of personality, emotional stability, sex, and religion—problems which lie at the heart of the concerns of Bell. Is there not here simply a

difference in emphasis rather than a fundamental and irreconcilable disagreement? Indeed, is not the best hope of realizing the improved quality of family and home life for which Bell argues so passionately the *combining* of home and school forces in a program of education for *both* children and adults? One cannot forbear asking, If the main part of education must be done by parents, and if the parents are growing increasingly unable to carry this responsibility, are there no steps we can take to redress this imbalance? The answer seems unmistakable: schools *must* concern themselves unequivocally and vigorously with the business of character education and with the preparation of youth for sound and productive parenthood. At the same time schools and teachers must zealously encourage home and family participation in this work. To the degree that this last can succeed, to that degree can the energies of the school of the future be released for its other responsibilities.

Again, when Rugg calls for 'real work' experience in the school, he seems almost to be answering Bell's concern for the disappearance of real work experience in the home. If, as Bell suggests, a fundamental component of character education lies in work experience and if, as both seem clearly to agree, such opportunity is unavailable in the modern home, the answer must lie in some further reorientation of the educational program to include that experience. As before, the solution must come from a joint, not a one-sided, effort.

This compatibility seems clearly to extend to religion. For both, the religious experience is too significant to be ignored, by passed, or curtailed. When the question, Of what should this experience consist? is asked, the two positions will probably find themselves in some disagreement. Again, the route to the morality which Bell seeks seems certainly to be through the school. It could hardly be otherwise, and for the very reasons advanced by Bell.

The Question of Educational Priorities

There is another dimension to the problem of the scope of a school's functions, however. It is the problem to which, a century ago, Herbert Spencer addressed himself when he penned a most significant essay entitled, 'What Knowledge Is of Most Worth?' In this writing,

Spencer's aim was primarily one of advancing the claims of science and the practical arts for a key place in the curricula of his day, calling at the same time for the reduction or elimination of much that he considered merely ornamental and highly wasteful. Perhaps he could properly be classed as a mid nineteenth century expansionist, a forerunner of today's Harold Ruggs, of more central concern to us here is his championship of the need to establish educational priorities.

As we have noted, both Bell and Rugg appear to be aware that there is a genuine danger of overloading our educational institutions, of expecting them to carry an excessive load. It is not clear that they have attended to the Spencerian question of attempting a determination either of the proper limits of educational endeavor or of the relative merits of the several claimants for a school's energies. It is unlikely that a contemporary assessment of the functions of education would arrive at a rank order of school responsibilities as predominantly mundane as did Spencer.⁴ In one sense, science for Spencer was young and in need of support—today, none would contest the entitlement of science to a place at the head of a school's obligations. But, as demands on our schools multiply, as courses and subjects proliferate, the need for sober consideration of the role of the school grows ever more acute.

This need is further augmented by certain central features of mid twentieth century life in America. A relatively simple, isolated, self sufficient nation—which the United States, in considerable measure, was until the First World War and which it tried to be until the Second—was naturally reflected in a relatively simple, nationalistic, uncomplicated curriculum. Two chief factors changed all that: first,

⁴ Spencer's famous breakdown of the essential role of the school consisted of emphasis upon

"1 Those activities which directly minister to self preservation

"2 Those activities which, by securing the necessities of life, indirectly minister to self preservation

3 Those activities which have for their end the rearing and discipline of offspring

"4 Those activities which are involved in the maintenance of proper social and political relations

"5 Those miscellaneous activities which fill up the leisure part of life, devoted to the gratification of the tastes and feelings"

This essay has been widely reproduced. See, e.g., Ellwood P. Cubberley, *Readings in the History of Education* (Cambridge, Houghton Mifflin, 1948), pp. 658-659

a new and vastly expanded conception of the human organism and its growth needs, and second, an altogether changed world with a new place in it for the United States. These developments brought in their train new and unprecedented demands upon the school, at almost the same point in time, the educational process was called upon to serve the newly discovered needs and interests of children and youth and to prepare those young persons to take their place in a world of ever increasing tension and complexity.

It is obvious that any presentation of educational priorities will reflect a basic educational philosophy. Classicists, essentialists, humanists, experimentalists, and those for whom religious education is paramount, will inevitably differ on these matters. And yet the decisions must be made, with specificity by local bodies, in general terms by the nation as a whole. The stakes are too critical to allow for apathy, drift, or neglect. We do not propose here to attempt a modern counterpart of the pattern set forth by Herbert Spencer. Suggestive, however, of the basic dimensions of the problem of priorities in education are such questions as the following: Are American schools giving adequate time and energy to instruction in the facts—historical, geographic, cultural, economic—of the world as it now is? Is there sufficient attention and encouragement given, in this era of global intimacy, to the study of foreign languages? Are areas or departments of knowledge or skill being stressed in school which could more effectively and efficiently be taught in the home, office, plant, factory, or laboratory? Is adequate and genuine opportunity afforded today's youth for the development of experience in responsible group leadership and service? Is the time allotted among the several educational demands—in subject matter and experience—apportioned appropriately to their intrinsic values for the individual and for society? Are our curricula designed for, geared to, the discovery and advancement of the special talents of the unusually gifted? Do the schools of the country—in the programs they provide, the patterns of behavior they encourage, the standards they set—represent the values and principles we hold dear? In sum, in the education of American youth, do we put first things first?

This question was most cogently put, almost a quarter of a century ago, as a commentator wrote

It is nonsense to suppose that an institution with so many objectives [as the modern American school] will move satisfactorily toward any of them. The result of such a blurring of aims is that the finished product of the public school knows a little of this and that, but is trained for neither thinking, leisure, livelihood, nor citizenship. If the schools really want to affect the quality of American citizenship [and we would add, if this is really what the American people expect their schools to accomplish] they must get down to business about it. It must become their primary objective.⁵

* * *

Democratic citizenship is all encompassing. It recognizes no inherent restrictions. So it must be with democratic education. This is not to say that the school or the teacher should conceive of itself, or himself, as having replaced other responsible social institutions. For educators to act as though the home or the church had nothing to contribute, or more grossly, as has happened, as though other institutions merely "got in the way" of the school, is to evidence consummate arrogance and flagrant stupidity. Perhaps the chief lesson to be gained from entering into a discussion of this sort is the realization that schools and educators can all too easily lose touch with their communities and with the realities of the life about them. This educational isolationism can, and too frequently does, take one of two forms. As the criticisms of Bell suggest, educational responsibility can be taken away from parents, homes, and community agencies and removed, through professional overeagerness or the desire for power, to a position unquestionable and unassailable. Or, as Rugg's contentions demonstrate, a school and its program may be withdrawn from contact with the realms of life, may cease to have relevance, and may serve to perpetuate the very maladjustments cited by Bell. Beyond these dangers, as we have noted, lies the very real problem of educational priorities, of trying to establish, on sound and logical principles, just how the school should apportion or distribute its energies. It is clear that, for teachers and citizens alike, this matter of the scope of the educational task is one of the most serious of all public questions.

⁵ Avis D. Carlson, "Can the Schools Save Democracy?", *Harper's Monthly* (April 1937), p. 532.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

BASIC QUESTION If you had the authority, how would you design an elementary school curriculum? A secondary school curriculum? The basic requirements of a college course? How do you justify your proposals? How will you defend yourself against those who insist that you have omitted something essential?

- 1 Professor Rugg argues vigorously for the inclusion of real work experience (socially useful, personally educative and monetarily rewarding) in the school program. What difficulties do you foresee in putting such a program into operation? Are the benefits worth the price?
- 2 In an earlier topic, we looked briefly at the essentialist approach to education. How much of Professor Rugg's suggestion for a more inclusive curriculum do you think an essentialist would accept? Why?
- 3 Are there other phases of life which you would add to Professor Rugg's list of neglected areas? Is there additional excess curricular baggage which you would remove from the school along with those elements suggested by Dr. Bell, Robert Hutchins, and others?
- 4 Read the essay by Herbert Spencer entitled *What Knowledge Is of Most Worth?* Do you feel that Spencer's listing of educational priorities has any validity for modern American education? How would you modify the Spencerian classifications to fit more adequately the needs and demands of a mid twentieth century education in the United States?
- 5 What do you consider to be the most serious curricular weakness in the elementary or secondary schools? How do you account for this? What measures are required to correct this weakness?
- 6 Here is a list of subjects or areas in which schools or colleges provide introductory or basic courses. Place a 1 with those you consider absolutely essential, a 2 with those you consider desirable, a 3 with those which you feel are nonessentials. Can you defend your judgments?

U S history	Algebra	Physics	Modern European history
English literature	Psychology	Philosophy	Geography
French	Home making	Music	Geometry
Arithmetic	Drawing	Physical education	Chinese history
Typing	Latin	Economics	Public speaking
Wood shop	Ancient history	Religion	Government
Geology	Auto Mechanics	Art appreciation	
Composition	Biology		

- 7 Many secondary schools are including (some are requiring) in their curricula courses in automobile driving. This is expensive and time consuming, but some studies show a direct correlation between such instruction and reduced traffic accident rates. Is this a justifiable function for the high school? Why or why not?
- 8 What is the relationship between technological change and the responsibility of the teacher of social studies? How should his teaching be influenced by these changes? What is the relationship between technological change and the responsibility of the teacher of natural or physical science? How should his teaching be influenced by these changes? Do these technological changes lay upon the teacher of art, music, or literature any peculiar obligations, or are those areas immune from the influence of these changes?

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The Provision of Equal Educational Opportunity

WHEN WE AMERICANS use the phrase "free public education," we use it to mean education provided at public expense (through taxation) and available to all without any restrictions beyond that of the capacity to profit from education. There are compulsory education laws in all states by which society is saying that mere availability is not enough; the education must be obtained. It would seem, with free public education provided and its use compelled, that we had developed and perfected a system of schools through which everyone did indeed have an equal opportunity for education. It is the function of this chapter to present some of the evidence which, notwithstanding the foregoing, demonstrates the persistence of inequality in educational opportunity and to attempt to analyze some of the chief measures proposed and actions taken to alleviate these conditions.

Like the rings formed in a pool when a pebble hits the water, this question of equal educational opportunity washes against and overlaps many of the other critical educational problems. Several of the nation's most crucial educational difficulties are themselves in large part created by the fact of educational inequality. We shall be forced, for example, to consider the vital and controversial questions of educational desegregation and federal aid to education as perhaps the most significant current efforts for overcoming the inequalities. These issues in turn raise the question of how best to provide an administrative agency for

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education at the federal level. Consideration of measures to remove these inequities involves us in a question which is discussed in the following chapter: the degree to which public support should be granted to private, especially parochial, education. And perhaps most fundamental of all, when we consider educational inequality as a *national* problem, the principle of *local* control and responsibility is deeply involved. Other examples of this vital interrelationship might be cited, one should be constantly alert to see the effects which a proposed solution to one such problem may have upon some other aspect of the total health of education.

This is also one of the several educational questions whose ramifications go to the very heart of the American sociopolitical tradition, because *within* the essence of democracy is a presupposition of every man's right to an equal chance. When that equal chance is blocked or subverted by the inadequate or misdirected actions of a representative government, as is too often the case with educational opportunity, this is a peculiarly central issue. The educational inequalities which prevail as between urban and rural areas, between schools for whites and those for members of other races, or between the provisions made for college preparatory and, say, agricultural students reflect basic commitments on public policy, with implications which reach far beyond the classroom. Perhaps the most far reaching of all is the extent to which the presence of such educational inequalities constitutes a *denial of our democratic faith* and, therefore, becomes for the enemies of democracy a propaganda weapon of no mean proportions. For as long as we allow this inequality to continue unchecked too often with overt social sanction, for just so long will the antidemocratic forces capitalize upon this weakness and point to it as proof of the ineffectiveness, if not the moral decay, of democracy. Can we continue to live with ourselves and our fellow men as democrats under such a charge?

The Fact of Educational Inequality

The 1950 census returns indicated that the general educational level of the American people had continued to rise during the preceding

decade. The number of persons who had completed fewer than five years of schooling had decreased, and, for the first time, it could be reported that a majority of the adult population of the country had had either high school or college training. While this is commendable, other data provide small reason for complacent satisfaction. In 1950, according to a special educational study conducted by the Bureau of the Census, the *median* number of years of schooling completed by persons twenty five years of age and older was only 9.3, roughly three fourths of those over sixty five had had eight years schooling or less, while a like proportion of the age group twenty five to twenty nine had had nine years or more of formal education. While this represents steady improvement over any earlier year, the fact that 10.5 million persons of fourteen years and older were yet found to have completed fewer than five years of school was, and is, a sobering statistic. In that same year approximately 1.5 million children of school age attended no school whatsoever. Those who were in school were served by a teaching staff which was nearly 10 percent substandard, one teacher in every ten was teaching without having met state minimum certification requirements. While the United States is gradually reducing the amount of illiteracy, conventionally defined as inability after age fourteen to read and write in any language, much remains to be done. In 1950, illiteracy rates of 10.2 percent among nonwhites and around 4 percent in rural farm areas still prevailed, the corresponding figure for the entire population was about 2.5 percent. The fact that 1 million were found educationally deficient for military service during World War II and that high rates of rejection have continued during the postwar years indicate that the problem of educational inadequacy remains.

We can illustrate educational inequality in another but equally striking way—by noting differentials in the actual conditions of schooling. In some states the amount of money spent per pupil for education is nearly four times the amount spent in other states, certain communities spend up to *forty* times as much per pupil as others. The teachers in one school district receive salaries five and six times as high as the teachers in another district, with the attendant result that the qualifications of teachers and the quality of their teaching will also

vary tremendously. In one school district, state, or region the number of pupils per teacher may be many times the ratio which obtains elsewhere. Similarly, such items as buildings, equipment, textbooks, and teaching materials are drastically unequal, compare the educational atmosphere which is likely to prevail in the metropolitan school building erected in 1874 with that of the modern structure. Or note the findings of a survey of educational conditions recently conducted in a large city which reported that textbooks were in use which were so old and worn out that they were no longer readable, and so dirty that their smell was almost overpowering!

In order to consider intelligently ways and means of eliminating or reducing this condition, we must address ourselves first to the reasons why it exists. What are the primary causes of educational inequality ~~or~~ the factors in American culture which most seriously affect the availability of education? The most obvious factor is that of unequal financial or economic resources. For a variety of reasons one school district, county, or state will be poorer than others, it will have less valuable natural resources, fewer industrial or commercial enterprises within its borders, or a less important geographic location. Taxation studies have shown that immediately adjacent school districts have varied in wealth in ratios of as much as several hundred to one, due primarily to an accident of nature. States themselves vary tremendously. When wealth is described in terms of the money income of a state, it is found that the wealthiest state has nearly three times the per capita income of the poorest state, or \$2,304 and \$834 (1953). If this income is proportioned to the school age population, the variations become even more stark. In 1951, the District of Columbia had \$16,658 of disposable income (that is, individual incomes after federal income taxes) and New York had \$10,067 *per school-age child*, while the two poorest states, South Carolina and Mississippi, had \$2,859 and \$2,532 respectively. More broadly, nine states had average per pupil incomes of more than \$8,000 while nine states had incomes of less than \$4,000 per pupil. In sum, variations in the financial ability of a school district or a state to support education constitute the basic reason why educational inequalities exist.

The financial or economic wealth factor must be seen in conjunction

with what is called the educational load to be carried. Variations of this nature are usually described by citing the ratio of children to be educated to the total adult (tax paying) population. In the mid 1950's, the state with the heaviest load (New Mexico) showed a ratio nearly twice that of the state with the lightest load (New York), the figure in the first instance being over 80 children per 100 adults while in the latter case the ratio was only 44 children for every 100 adults. The larger the percentage of children, then, the smaller the percentage of adults to support an educational program.

In general, the States with the largest proportionate numbers of children are in agricultural regions, particularly in the South. States having fewer children in relation to number of adults are generally in the more urban and industrial regions. Unless a State having a larger proportionate number of children has correspondingly larger tax resources per capita, it must make greater financial effort to support a given educational level for all its children than a State having fewer children in proportion to the number of adults. Data based upon the present rate of natural increase in the population in the several States indicate that the differences in relative numbers of children to be educated are likely to continue to exist for at least several years.¹

Another reason for the existence of educational inequalities is seen when the efforts of the several states to support their schools are compared. This effort is customarily measured in terms of the proportion of a state's (or a school district's) total income which is allocated for education. It was found that in 1952-1953 the state making the greatest effort (New Mexico) was spending 5.73 percent of its total income on education, while the state showing the least effort (Nevada) spent but 2.09 percent of its total income for school support. (The District of Columbia spent an even smaller proportion—2.30 percent.) In fact, the twelve wealthiest states spent a median of 3.38 percent of their total disposable income on education, the twelve least wealthy states 4.16 percent. When these three factors—wealth, load, and effort—are seen jointly, it becomes apparent that in many states and local school

¹ Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress, *Federal Educational Activities and Educational Issues before Congress* for the Committee on Education and Labor of the House of Representatives, (Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office 1951) p. 48.

districts the greatest efforts are being made where the resources are smallest, and, conversely, that where wealth is high and the load is light, a smaller relative effort can support a more adequate school program.

All this, when translated into amounts spent on education per pupil in average daily attendance, means that (in 1952 1953) where one state spent \$101 per pupil per year another spent \$350. While this represents substantial increases dollar wise over the past several decades, the gap continues very marked, and the gains have at best only served to keep the level of expenditure abreast of the rising costs of education. Similar disparities are characteristic of districts within states, frequently to the extent that some districts spend two and three times as much per pupil in average daily attendance as other districts.

Certain additional nonfinancial factors should not be overlooked. Educational inequalities are attributable in considerable measure to policies of racial segregation or discrimination. While these, happily, are gradually being reduced as the result of enlightened state legislation, judicial decision, and economic necessity, the fact remains that in many places the quality of education is conditioned by race. While this problem, by virtue of history, is largely concentrated in the south-eastern states, it is by no means exclusively there, school districts and states in all sections have followed administrative and fiscal policies which have tended to unequalize educational opportunity. In one community the poorest equipment or the least desirable teachers are assigned to the school serving a Mexican American section, in another the children of Chinese or Japanese extraction are the last to receive the benefits of improved education, in others school policy is such as to discourage any but the children of the more fortunate Anglo-Saxon minorities from seeking the kind of education which leads to college and the professions. It must be noted that, in the large, this situation is most acute where the over all educational burden is heaviest and the available resources least adequate.

Educational inequalities are also attributable to a number of other, perhaps lesser, conditions. The mere fact of the geographic location of one's residence may make education difficult of access. James B. Conant estimates that fewer than one quarter of white high school age

boys live "within convenient commuting distance of a satisfactory university." The fact of sectarian interest in education sometimes leads to educational inequality, either by causing a division in the community school support (financial and moral) or by establishing private schools of substandard grade. The educational policies of a state or a community, while for the most part governed by financial considerations, may serve to perpetuate or enlarge disparities. The wide variations, for example, in the qualifications for teaching which exist among the states or among local districts within states must inevitably produce educational inequities. The differences in curricular organization and emphasis, particularly at the high school level, profoundly affect the level of available educational opportunity. Those institutions, especially colleges, whose admission policies involve quotas (that is, established percentages of members of certain social, religious, or nationality groups) are without doubt contributing to the continuance of unequal educational opportunity.

One final element serves to complicate further this problem of educational equality. The American people are a mobile people. Population shifts, particularly marked in the past ten or twelve years, constitute a serious obstacle to the realization of educational equality, and for two chief reasons. The influx of literally hundreds of thousands of "new" children into a state over a short span of years tends to upset any balance that may have been achieved and to augment such inequalities as may have been present. At the same time these migrations tend to flow from states with the least favorable educational conditions to those states which have established and maintained higher quality programs. Such a migratory process means that, to an increasing degree, adult citizenship in one state is held by persons who received a substandard education in some other state. Since it is anticipated that population mobility will continue at a high rate, the acuteness of the attendant educational problem is obvious.

Most of the practices currently employed to make educational opportunity more equal have been discussed in other sections of this book. The trend toward the expansion of higher educational enterprise has been noted in our examination of the growing junior college movement and the establishment of municipal four-year colleges.

These, along with the emergence of "community colleges" of the type inaugurated in New York, will do much to minimize the inequities which are the result of geographic location. Closely related to this is the current interest in regional cooperation at the college level which was mentioned in the chapter on higher education. Here, too, the net effect, it is felt, will be to reduce substantially the discrepancies among institutions by a pooling of resources. A third measure designed to eliminate much educational inequality is implicit in the ever more widespread demand for the removal of discriminatory educational practices. Paramount here are those practices which are based upon institutionalized racial segregation and upon religious discrimination.

The most widespread and important measure for the reduction of educational inequalities, the application by states of equalization or foundation programs, has also already been discussed. The principle that a state is responsible for the quality and character of the education conducted within its borders has been conclusively established, this responsibility today is exercised in large part through the medium of state financial assistance to local school districts. As we have seen, this phase of state educational activity has steadily increased over the past several decades, and it is certain to increase still further. The question inevitably arises, and the data presented in this chapter lead in the same direction, as to the need for the assumption of a similar responsibility on the part of the Federal government. If a state must assume the ultimate obligation to maintain certain educational standards throughout its jurisdiction, is it not equally desirable and valid that the national government should assume a like responsibility for the country as a whole?

Racial Desegregation in Education

The 1947 Report of the President's Commission on Higher Education, which was mentioned in an earlier chapter, paid particular attention to the problem of racial segregation in education. This is certainly among the most basic and complex of the factors underlying educational inequality in the United States. That report, addressing itself particularly to the question of the educational provisions for

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Negroes in the southern states, recorded the conviction that "there will be no fundamental correction of the total condition [of inequalities in educational opportunity] until segregation legislation is repealed." Recognizing that this is a matter of long term adjustment, the commission called for redoubled efforts to make the separate schools for Negroes truly equal—in finances, curriculum, equipment, quality of teachers, and so on. The commission further called for the institution of 'Fair Educational Practices' laws which would enforce the maintenance of standards of equal treatment.

The report of the President's Commission was both a sign of the times and behind the times for, even as the commission labored, marked and steady progress toward equality was being made. Fully to understand those developments, it is well to recall briefly the history of the practice of segregation. As C. Vann Woodward² and others have cogently pointed out, racial segregation was not a part of the southern way of life either before, during, or immediately following the Civil War. But, under the weight of an accumulation of economic and political pressures, the white South was led to adopt and institute various practices of racial separation. By the second decade of the twentieth century, the system was well nigh complete and segregation was the required pattern, in social, political, recreational, transportation, and educational affairs. The system was given the prestige and sanction of law in the famous case of *Plessy vs. Ferguson* in 1896. Here, the United States Supreme Court declared that the provision of separate facilities (railroads, parks, street cars, hotels, schools, and so on) was not contrary to the Constitutional guarantees provided those facilities were equal. In education in particular, therefore, Southern policy since 1896 has followed the "separate but equal" doctrine then enunciated.

Not until fairly recent times has this principle been taken seriously in *both* its dimensions as it applies to schools. Southern states have, since the *Plessy* case, maintained two separate school systems, but serious attention to the matter of the equivalence of those two systems must be dated only from the close of the Second World War. Thus,

² C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow, a Brief Account of Segregation* New York, Oxford University Press, 1955

when almost any measure is applied—public expenditure per pupil, pupil-teacher ratio, teachers' salaries, value per pupil of school facilities—the imbalance in the quality of education is unmistakable.³ Though the disproportions were drastically reduced after 1940, inequities remained, indeed were inevitable, and this added burden, as we have seen, rested on that section of the country least able to carry it.

However, for a quarter century the tide has been moving in the opposite direction. Slowly and almost imperceptibly at times, at times with a dramatic flourish, the wall of racial segregation has been crumbling under the impact of changing conditions and broadened perspectives. Poll taxes have been repealed; "white primaries" have been found unconstitutional, Negroes have been elected to local and state boards of education; the armed services have virtually eliminated all evidences of segregation—these are but a few of the indications of change which might be cited. Central in this advance has been the constant abandonment of discriminatory practices on the part of educational institutions. A long series of state and federal court decisions relentlessly forced colleges and universities to open their doors to members of both races on an equal basis—and many more institutions took such steps without the pressure of a court order. It remained only to apply the new rationale to the public elementary and secondary schools of the South—and this was the historic contribution of the now famous Warren decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, rendered on May 17, 1954.

In what was unquestionably the most important dictum on race relations since the Dred Scott decision of 1857, the Supreme Court held that racial segregation in public education is contrary to the Constitution. The crux of the logic by which this decision was reached was eloquently conveyed by the words of Chief Justice Warren as he spoke for a unanimous court.

In approaching this problem, we cannot turn the clock back to 1863 when the Amendment [the 14th] was adopted, or even to 1896 when *Plessy v. Ferguson* was written. We must consider public education in the light of its full development and its present place in American life.

³ For detailed statistics see Truman M. Pierce and others, *White and Negro Schools in the South* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., Prentice Hall, 1955).

throughout the Nation Only in this way can it be determined if segregation in public schools deprives these plaintiffs of the equal protection of the laws

Today, education is perhaps the most important function of state and local governments Compulsory school attendance laws and the great expenditures for education both demonstrate our recognition of the importance of education to our democratic society It is required in the performance of our most basic public responsibilities, even service in the armed forces Today it is a principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training, and in helping him to adjust normally to his environment In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms

We come then to the question presented Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other "tangible" factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe that it does .

The effect of this separation on their educational opportunities was well stated by a finding in the Kansas case

Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children The impact is greater when it has the sanction of the law, for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the Negro group A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of the child to learn Segregation with the sanction of law, therefore, has a tendency to retard the educational and mental development of Negro children and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racially integrated school system "

Whatever may have been the extent of psychological knowledge at the time of *Plessy v Ferguson* this finding is amply supported by modern authority Any language in *Plessy v Ferguson* contrary to this finding is rejected

We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place *Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal* Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs and others

similarly situated for whom the actions have been brought are, by reason of the segregation complained of deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment ⁴

Recognizing the seriousness and the magnitude of the implications of such a decision, the court postponed until after a subsequent hearing specific procedural recommendations. At that time the Supreme Court assigned to federal district courts the oversight of the desegregation process, enjoining them to be guided in that role by a 'practical flexibility' and calling upon the states to comply with 'all deliberate speed'."

The record since the Warren decision can only be described as mixed. Immediate responses of Southern leaders to the Court's verdict were varied and contradictory. Many accepted what they regarded as right and inevitable (though perhaps premature) and set about the business of integration at once. But others voiced defiant rejections of the decision and proceeded to take steps to nullify or evade the intentions of the Court. Probably most noteworthy in the period since May 1954 have been, first, the steady progress recorded by a significant number of communities (notably Baltimore, Maryland, and Washington, D. C.), and, second, the almost complete absence of serious social conflict. However one views this record it is clear that a most vital step in the direction of providing more equal educational opportunity has been taken.

Federal Aid to Education

In the chapter on the educational activities of the Federal government the character and extent of federal involvement in education were presented in some detail. Certain generalizations can be drawn from such data which have particular relevance for a discussion of the problem of federal aid to education. These are (1) that the Federal government, despite the constitutional omission of education, has participated actively in the encouragement and support of education throughout its history (2) that the Federal government has under

⁴ *Brown v. Board of Education* 17 May 1954 Italics mine

taken to assist the several states in the promotion of a variety of educational programs, (3) that the Federal government has in considerable measure established and maintained educational institutions of its own, and (4) that, through the courts, the Federal government has exerted considerable influence upon the conduct of education throughout the nation

Today, as regularly over the past thirty years, serious consideration is being given to proposals that the Federal government extend its educational responsibilities farther and more significantly than ever before. The history of federal participation in education evidences subscription to policies of endowing schools and colleges with public lands, of supporting particular educational programs (for example, vocational education), and of providing certain welfare services through the schools (for example, the school lunch program). Current suggestions, if adopted, would place the Federal government in a position of responsibility for supporting *general* educational activities at the elementary and secondary levels, of providing scholarship assistance for college students, of assisting schools and colleges in the construction of buildings or other facilities, and of contributing to the payment of teachers' salaries. The most far reaching and, some would say, the most revolutionary of these proposals is that which would make federal money available for the general support of elementary and secondary school education. An examination of the principles underlying such a policy, the details of current proposals, and the arguments advanced for and against their adoption will serve to illustrate much of the basic controversy involved in considering any program of federal assistance to education.

History of Attempts to Enact Federal Aid Legislation. Contrary to popular impression, the suggestion that the Federal government aid local elementary and secondary education is not a uniquely mid-twentieth-century phenomenon. As the Federal government has from time to time authorized support for various specific educational activities—the Morrill Act, the Hatch Act, or the Smith Hughes Act—there has been insistently raised the question. Is not the Federal government at least equally concerned about the over all quality of its common school education? Our history is not devoid of proposals and

attempts to enact legislation affording federal assistance to local school districts for the general support of education. Two such attempts are noteworthy. In 1870-1871 there was introduced into Congress by Representative George F. Hoar of Massachusetts a bill which would have put the Federal government in the business of operating common schools at the local level. On the grounds that the national government required some assurance that the schools of the post-Civil War South would not produce a new generation of rebels, the Hoar Bill proposed that the Federal government supervise and inspect the local schools of the South. If those schools were found delinquent, it was provided that the federal authorities could establish a separate and parallel system of schools in which, presumably, the course of study would be safe. The significance of this episode lies in the fact that, even in the chaotic and vengeful years of the Reconstruction period, the Hoar Bill was vigorously and permanently defeated. The country was not prepared to nationalize its educational program even to the limited degree envisioned in the Hoar Bill. No similar proposal has since been seriously considered.

The second historical example of note is the series of proposals known as the Blair bills. Sponsored by Senator Henry W. Blair of New Hampshire, the Blair Bill was continually before the Congress from 1882 to 1890 and was passed three times by the Senate but never brought to a vote in the House of Representatives. Its significance for this discussion lies in the degree to which, some fifty to sixty years earlier, it anticipated many of the basic principles of contemporary federal aid plans. Again, the object was to alleviate educational inequality, especially in the South, but here the Federal government was to be authorized, and for the first time to disburse money directly to the states to support their common schools. While the amount of money involved—\$77 million over a ten-year period—seems ridiculously small in terms of modern expenditures, it is interesting to conjecture as to the subsequent character of American education had the Blair Bill ever been enacted. But, with its disappearance after 1890, no proposals of general aid to elementary and secondary education received serious consideration until the late 1920s and early 1930s. But such instances as these, when coupled with the various federal

enactments of aid to specific phases of education, indicate that latter-day suggestions of general federal assistance are not pointing down an altogether untraveled path

Current Proposals of Aid to Elementary and Secondary Education. While the past thirty years have seen a number of attempts to legislate a program of federal aid to education, only two can be said to have had any real chance of success. Both actually failed of enactment and both were considered during the decade following World War II. Both reflected sober, though perhaps not equally zealous, commitment to the desirability and validity of the federal aid principle. Both could claim significant bipartisan support and sponsorship. On both bills, and on a succession of previous proposals over three decades, extensive committee hearings were held so that the principles involved in such legislative suggestions and the opposing arguments have been vigorously and extensively proclaimed. In their basic characteristics these two legislative proposals fairly accurately represent the prevailing approach to the federal aid question in the 1950s, and the pros and cons of the federal aid debate apply generally to both.

THE TAFT BILL. The first of these was the Educational Finance Act of 1949, commonly known, after its chief author and sponsor, the late Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio, as the Taft bill. This bill provided for an annual appropriation of \$300 million "to assist in the equalization of educational opportunity." The distribution of this money was to be governed by three factors: (1) a basic grant to all states of \$5 per child of school age, five to seventeen years of age, (2) the need of the state for assistance as indicated by the number of children of school age in its population, and (3) the efforts the state and local administrations make to support their educational systems as indicated by the percentage of the state's income which is devoted to elementary and secondary education. A state spending 25 percent of its income on education was to receive the full amount of federal aid to which it was entitled, computed by a simple formula, while a state which devoted less than 2 percent of its income to education would have received no funds beyond the basic \$5 grant. The money was to be so distributed as to ensure that, when coupled with moneys from state

and local sources, there would be a minimum, a "floor," of \$55 annually available for the education of each child. Three percent of the total appropriation was to be set aside for apportionment to the Territories according to their school needs as determined jointly by the United States Commissioner of Education and the territorial school officials. Finally, and in some respects the most important provision, the Taft Bill contained a detailed, exhaustive section prohibiting any form of federal interference in local or state school administration.

Nothing contained in this Act shall be construed to authorize any department, agency, officer, or employee of the United States to exercise any direction, supervision, or control over, or to prescribe any requirements with respect to any school, or any State educational institution or agency, with respect to which any funds have been or may be made available or expended pursuant to this Act, nor shall any term or condition of any agreement or any other action taken under this Act, whether by agreement or otherwise, relating to any contribution made under this Act to or on behalf of any school, or any State educational institution or agency, or any limitation or provision in any appropriation made pursuant to this Act, seek to control in any manner, or prescribe requirements with respect to, or authorize any department, agency, officer, or employee of the United States to direct, supervise, or control in any manner, or prescribe any requirements with respect to, the administration, the personnel, the curriculum, the instruction, the methods of instruction, or the materials of instruction, nor shall any provision of this Act be interpreted or construed to imply or require any change in any State constitution prerequisite to any State sharing the benefits of this Act.

Of this, the "home rule" or "states' rights" clause, the bill's sponsors stated in debate that "If any language can be added to this section to make it stronger, I am for it," and "That language is as strong as we could write it."

THE EISENHOWER PROGRAM The second major effort was that made by the Eisenhower administration in 1955-1956. This program was first proposed by President Eisenhower in 1955 and reiterated in 1956 in a special message to Congress on "Our Educational System." Subsequently bills were introduced in both houses which embodied the ad-

ministration's specifications. These were, in the language of President Eisenhower's special message

A program of Federal grants amounting to \$1,250 million, at a rate of \$250 million annually for 5 years, matched with State funds, to supplement local construction efforts in the neediest school districts

A program to authorize \$750 million over 5 years for Federal purchase of local school construction bonds when school districts cannot sell them in private markets at reasonable interest rates

A 5 year program of advances to help provide reserves for bonds issued by State school financing agencies. These bonds would finance local construction of schools to be rented and eventually owned by the local school systems

A 5 year, \$20 million program of matching grants to States for planning to help communities and States overcome obstacles to their financing of school construction

These proposals, and the bills which they fathered, were unlike the earlier Taft program in at least three fundamental respects. In the first place, the approach of the Eisenhower administration constituted a disavowal of the idea that federal money should be granted for *general* educational purposes—this program was limited strictly to school construction. Second, the President's proposals reflected a resolve that the Federal government should not grant money for educational assistance unconditionally: all such federal funds were to be matched with moneys from the states, or were to be in the form of loans. And lastly, the Eisenhower program was much more decisive with respect to the matter of granting aid where it was most needed, rejecting the Taft Bill's pattern of applying a single formula to all states, whether wealthy or poor.

Nevertheless, a number of basic principles regarding the relationship between the Federal government and education are common to these two endeavors and to most of the other suggestions for action in this area. In the first place, such bills as these are in themselves statements of the assumption that the Federal government does in fact have an obligation, a duty, to assist in the maintenance of educational standards. Second, these bills evidence continuing subscription to the idea that the federal authority should *encourage* as well as assist, with this

principle in mind the authors of these proposals provided for the exertion of specific degrees of state and local effort before federal support would be fully forthcoming. These bills are designed to prevent any state from becoming overly dependent upon federal resources. A third principle which is explicit in these proposals is that all states should participate in the program, though there is disagreement over what, if any, differentiations should be made in the treatment of the several states. The logic here is that no state has a fully adequate school system and that the program will be more successful if all are beneficiaries.

The most important principle enunciated in these proposals, however, is that of complete disavowal of federal regulation or control of education. This is, of course, most clearly evident in such a provision as the "home rule" clause of the Taft Bill, but some additional words from the Eisenhower message are also revealing. The President stated that he was confident the Federal Government with this program can help construct schools without in any way weakening the American tradition that control of education must be kept close to the local communities. [These proposals] have a primary reliance on the

private initiative which wells from the free spirit of a free people. It is instructive to note that it was due, in considerable measure, to adherence to these principles that both the Taft and the Eisenhower program failed of enactment. The Taft Bill, in its concern to refrain from dictating to the states, took no position on the crucial question of the use of federal funds for private—and especially denominational—schools. As a result, the bill was opposed by many who wished to prohibit, as well as by some who wished to require, such use of public money. Senator Taft, however, as he defended the "states rights" principle, argued that the Federal government has no interest in seeing that there shall be exactly the same kind of schools in one state as in another. If a state, as part of its educational system, chooses to distribute money to private schools in the conduct of its educational system, then Federal funds may be used in the same way. Similar logic prevailed among the sponsors of the later Eisenhower measures when they were called upon to prohibit federal funds to states which were, allegedly, not properly desegregating their schools. While

other considerations were involved, the refusal to attach such a condition to the legislation was a major factor in its defeat. It is fairly certain, at any rate, that defeat of these measures for these reasons was not a reflection of significant popular sentiment in favor of increased administrative responsibility for education *at the federal level*. This is borne out by the attitude expressed in the recommendations of the November, 1955, White House Conference on Education. That body, the most broadly representative group ever to consider national educational matters, went on record as strongly favoring federal aid for school construction. But the recommendations contained equally forceful assertions of the crucial importance of local responsibility for education, the corollary undesirability of federal regulation.

The unique vigor of American education [says the final report of the Committee for the White House Conference] stems from local control which generates interest, initiative and adaptability to changing conditions. This committee fully realizes that the changing character of the national income has made it necessary to broaden the base of school support to include tax sources other than property taxes. This committee also recognizes the necessity for equalizing the tax effort for the support of a foundation program of education. But much which is worthwhile will be lost if the people of a local school district ever develop the attitude that they have little or no financial responsibility for supporting their schools. Therefore, it is essential to the vigor of American education that a wise balance be maintained between local financial support and financial support from higher levels of government.

The Pros and Cons. It should be reasonably clear from the foregoing that the question of federal aid to education is anything but a settled issue. Controversy is widespread and vehement, there are fundamental differences of opinion not only as to how such a program should be conducted, its scope and its mechanics, but as to the very premises upon which such proposals rest. The basic position of those who support such legislation in principle (though they may disagree with one or another proposal on particulars) can be stated in four major contentions

- 1 Educational inequalities exist which only the Federal government can alleviate. We have already noted the differentials which exist

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among states or communities and the fact that the nation's wealth is not equally distributed geographically. Mention has also been made of the mobility of the population. This argument holds that the size of these differentials and the extent of our mobility mean that no agency except the Federal government is in a position to cope with the problem. Local tax resources have been or are being 'bled white,' states are inherently unequal in their resources. The only agency equipped with the power and the tax resources to meet this as a *national* educational problem is the national government.

2 A thoroughgoing implementation of the democratic creed requires that such inequalities be removed or at least minimized. The continued existence of educational inequality is a denial of the concept of "equality of opportunity" and as such is a useful weapon in the hands of antidemocratic forces everywhere. It would appear that educational inequalities contribute to general feelings of insecurity or frustration among large numbers of the population. Witness the following from a citizen of an educationally underprivileged community: 'Fun is made of people of poorer states, and they are told how to manage their affairs. Education would make them less amusing and more able to handle their affairs.' Many are convinced that *only* with increased efforts to equalize and improve the quality of education can we hope to solve our problems of race relations. These considerations, it is argued, are *national* not merely state or local.

3 The enhancement of educational opportunity contributes to a strong citizenry and a sound economy. The nation can afford such a program. Since 1939 the national income has more than doubled, but the percentage of that income spent for education has declined. It is a matter of record that today the American community spends annually as much on its alcoholic liquors and tobacco as on the education of its young! Moreover, as we noted earlier, a direct relationship obtains between education and a standard of living, the more adequate and effective the education, the higher the standard of living, the greater the demand for goods and services, the higher the level of consumption, the greater the productivity. Finally, increased expenditures for education properly spent should produce the kinds of educational services which would bear fruit in reductions of rates of

unemployment and crime, thus permitting a corresponding reduction in government expenditures for relief and correction. As before, it is argued, the nation stands to gain from national programs of this sort.

4. The national and international political and military responsibilities of the American people do not permit of the risks inherent in an undereducated people. An educated American electorate is essential to the nation and to the world. The federal system means that *all* the nation is affected by ignorance or inadequate education in any of its parts. Similarly, the world position of the United States requires a national intelligence of unprecedented dimensions. From the point of view of national defense, improved education is no less essential. The costs to the national military effort, in lost time, money, and manpower, of illiteracy during World War II were considerable, and increasingly military activities require intelligent personnel. Here, too, it is argued, the responsibility of the Federal government is incontestable, hence the validity of federal aid to education.

The contrary position is no less vigorously stated and defended. While it may be true that a few who oppose federal aid legislation are in reality unsympathetic to public education generally, the opposition predominantly represents an interest in the health of democratic education which is equal in sincerity to that held by the advocates. The chief arguments advanced against proposals of federal aid to education are five in number.

1. Education is not properly a function of the Federal government. Some hold that the Federal government is prevented from any such action by the failure of the Constitution to mention education. Others, recognizing the precedents for federal educational responsibility implicit in previous enactments, nevertheless find in these proposals an excessive introduction of the national influence into what are and must remain essentially state, local, or private functions. Inevitably, it is argued, the introduction of federal support for education will bring in its wake federal regulation or control of education. The essential genius of American education lies in decentralization and local control; a program of federal assistance is potentially too dangerous to be worth its inherent hazards. Furthermore, legislation of this type could not serve genuinely to equalize educational opportunity *without* some

form of federal regulation, and Congress should not grant federal funds without exerting some control over the manner in which those funds are expended. Far better to struggle independently to improve education than to adopt a policy which leads inevitably toward a nationalized, centralized educational system.

2. "A viable federalism presumes, not only a restraint on the part of the Federal Government, but a full assumption of initiative and responsibility on the part of the parents, the localities, and the States. If there is a disturbing tendency of the Federal Government to assume disproportionate powers, we feel there is an equally dangerous tendency of the States and the communities to neglect, and even abandon, their proper roles. Delinquency in the latter can be quite as serious as an excessive ambition in the former"⁵ These words appeared in the report of a committee commissioned by Congress and the President to study the role of the Federal government in the field of education. They reflect the objection to federal aid which stems from a fear that states and school districts would relax their local energies if such assistance were forthcoming. Those of this view are concerned lest school authorities be led to postpone plans for improvement and advance, in the hope of being able later to obtain needed facilities at less cost to the local district. They call for federal fiscal policies which would strengthen the states rather than make them dependent upon federal subsidy.

3. Such an extension of federal assistance, even if it were appropriate, is economically unsound on a number of counts. In contrast with a national debt of over \$250 billion, the total indebtedness of the states amounts to about \$5.5 billion. There is no reason to assume that the potentialities within states to increase tax resources have been exhausted. It is clear that the states, especially by means of "foundation" or equalization programs, have assumed an ever larger share of the costs of education. In the past thirty years, regional economies have become much less unequal. The disparity among States in fiscal capacity . . . has shrunk substantially since before the war . . . per

⁵ Commission on Inter Governmental Relations, Study Committee on Federal Responsibility in the Field of Education, *Federal Responsibility in the Field of Education* (Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1955), p. 6

capita income rose (in dollars of constant value) in the 12 highest-income States 37 percent, in the 12 lowest income States 96 percent. The spread between the highest and the lowest State narrowed from 1.435 to 1.276"⁶ Thus, those states to which some current proposals would grant the most aid are in a better financial position than ever before to support schools on their own. Objections are also raised to the policy of granting aid to all states, regardless of their individual abilities to support education. The Taft Bill, for example, set up minimum levels of educational support to which it was hoped all states could be raised, but then went on to raise still further those states which were already well above the minimum. Many who accept the federal assistance idea in principle find this feature indefensible.

4 Granting federal aid, it is further contended, might act to solidify or to 'freeze' certain undesirable aspects of the current educational scene. The availability of outside support might tend to discourage internal advance and improvement, outmoded political and administrative practices might be perpetuated since an "easy-come, easy-go" attitude in the states could be promoted by programs of federal assistance. Certain of the proposals appear to many to be encouraging in particular the continuation of race segregation in education since, despite the Supreme Court's ruling, the distribution of the funds is left in the hands of the states. On such grounds, the allocation of federal money into states and local communities for educational purposes is deemed altogether unhealthy and unwise.

5 While the opposition to federal aid is unified in its fears of the potential of federal control, it splits as it is confronted with the question of the place of denominational education in the federal aid program. The Taft and Eisenhower proposals, as we have seen, were drafted on the premise that each state should determine for itself whether to grant public moneys to sectarian schools. The result of the adoption of this policy has been the formation of opposition ranks along two lines. There are those, on the one hand, who feel that any program of federal assistance, to be consistent with the constitutional doctrine of church-state separation, must *prohibit* the use of federal funds in support of denominational education. On the other hand,

⁶ *Op cit* p 55

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there are those who insist that federal aid if it is really to contribute to the equalization of education, must be made available to all schools, the bills should, therefore, *require* that some federal money be granted to private and denominational schools regardless of state policy. It is reasonably certain that the Taft Bill was defeated in Congress largely because of failure to resolve this issue. While desegregation loomed in the foreground as the primary road block to the Eisenhower school construction effort, this problem of the proper place of private sectarian schools in any program of federal assistance has by no means been settled. Such complications lead many to the conclusion that, again, the potential hazards in a program of federal educational support outweigh its possible advantages.

* * *

This chapter has only scratched the surface of the tremendous problem of providing equal educational opportunity in the United States. While we have devoted considerable attention to the most far reaching of the efforts to effect such equalization, the desegregation movement and attempts to institute federal aid to elementary and secondary education, we should note that the question involves much more than this. Other proposals, similar in intent and principle, are being advanced: federal collegiate scholarship programs, subsidies for school buildings or teachers' salaries, and many more. State equalization programs, regional coordination of educational facilities, school district consolidation, and other more localized activities are at least as important as the federal developments in this field. Underlying this entire discussion, however, is one fundamental question, or series of questions, which must be faced squarely, questions which ultimately return us to the basic philosophical considerations with which this book began. Stated in simple terms, these questions are

- 1 Just what do we mean, or hope to achieve by equality of educational opportunity?
- 2 Is equality of educational opportunity 'an unalloyed good or are there inherent in it certain very real dangers?
- 3 How equal should our educational opportunity become and is it something sufficiently important to require enforcement, perhaps by

the Federal government? Can we have equality of educational opportunity without regimentation?

The answers to such questions as these are in essence philosophical commitments, commitments to the kind of education for which America should stand. It is clear that our answers will have profound effects upon the entire educational process, from school buildings to teachers' qualifications, from school finance to the content of the curriculum. Some would say that at this stage in America's history, few questions are more crucial.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

BASIC QUESTION. How far does the obligation of a democracy to provide and guarantee equality of educational opportunity extend? Are we obligated to ensure every child a high school diploma, a junior college graduation, a four year college course? In a democracy, what should equality of educational opportunity mean?

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CHAPTER 26

The Role of Religion in Public Education

FEW DISCUSSIONS of basic educational problems proceed far these days without becoming involved in religious considerations or questions concerning the educational role of the church. This was at least partially brought out in our examination of the churches as nonschool educational agencies. Historically, organized religious denominations in Western culture have almost universally been deeply concerned about education, even to the extent of establishing systems of schools to reinforce the tenets of a faith. Spiritually, churches have felt keenly the necessity for keeping alive and vital a working relationship between church and school in order that a religious orientation to life be maintained. But, as the principle of free, public, universal education came to be generally accepted and supported in the United States, the influence of organized religion upon education decreased, indeed, most Americans came to feel that free, public education was impossible if that education were under religious control. The result has been the development of an American educational system predominantly public in nature, with denominational or parochial schools and colleges a significant minority. A corollary result has been a drastic de-emphasis in the schools upon religious education per se, for as schools came increasingly under public control the task of so conducting education as to avoid offending any denomination grew ever more difficult.

This absence of explicit religion from most of American education is found by increasing numbers to be a cause for considerable alarm. Noting (to paraphrase their words) the materialism, militarism, and inhumanity of much in American life, they point to an educational system which, as they see it, lacks moral sanctions or religious commitments, and which, therefore, feeds and reinforces these nonspiritual tendencies. They see the schools, and especially the public schools, as "immoral," "agnostic," "un Christian," "atheistic," even "God less," and ask, pertinently, "How can we Americans lead in the building of a better world out of such an empty educational experience?"

The demands for reform of this situation appear to have taken two major directions, or to have promoted two major emphases. In the first place, many feel that the only solution lies in a revitalization of the general curriculum through conscientious, deliberate, systematic study of religion. This takes various forms, ranging from the well-known released time program to proposals of denominational education in public school classes. Others, declaring the public school situation to be unsuited to the presentation of genuine religious education, propose that public support be granted to those denominations that wish to maintain their own schools, thus, as they conceive it, leaving each person free to find the kind of education which carries the orientation he favors. Court cases, even including decisions of the United States Supreme Court, debates in Congress, and resolutions of great religious groups, as well as numerous writings for popular consumption, all bear witness to the degree to which these matters are receiving increased attention. These interrelated questions of (1) the place of religious education in the public school curriculum and (2) the relationship of church and state in the conduct of education are among the most critical questions of educational policy in the mid twentieth century.

The Principle of Separation

Its History. "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof . . ." The fact that this is the first provision of the first amendment to the Constitution

may be taken as an indication of the extreme importance placed upon the principle of church state separation by the founding fathers. As the legal protection for the fundamental democratic right of religious freedom, this pronouncement stands as one of the most crucial elements in the American political system. When we say that among the most critical contemporary educational questions are those which have to do with the place of religion in public education, it is clear that the impact of the first amendment upon American education must be profound. Our approach to these questions must be sober and dispassionate, concerned ultimately with the greatest good for society as a whole, and, perhaps even more than is usually the case, we must consider such issues from a clear and soundly based historical perspective. How, then, did we come to live by such a principle, and how has it affected the conduct of our schools?

The discussion of the abiding principles of democracy alluded to the intellectual inheritance from the philosophically enlightened eighteenth century that characterized the founders of the Republic. One aspect of this inheritance was a fundamental belief in individual human dignity, such a commitment led directly and inevitably to the postulation that the rights of man were 'natural'. 'Natural' rights were seen as coming from God, or the Creator, or nature—the important point is that they were held to be *inherent* in man and thus antedated and preceded any rights or privileges which might be claimed by some transitory earthly institution: state, church, school, or business. Among these rights was the right of free expression of one's religious beliefs, the right to worship or not to worship as one's conscience dictated without restriction or interference of any kind.

Commitment to this principle has had profound influence upon the entire fabric of American life. For example, it is altogether illegal at the federal level and in most states to set religious qualifications for public office nor (except where the general welfare is seriously jeopardized) may persons be required to behave in ways repugnant to their religious convictions. The impact of the separation principle upon education is most clearly to be seen in two other resultants which we might call toleration and disestablishment.

John Locke was one of the eighteenth century's champions of the

gospel of natural rights and certainly among the most influential forerunners of the American Constitution. Among other things, Locke maintained that man's natural right to religious liberty required a complete disavowal of any limitations upon that right. By this Locke meant not only the absence of institutional barriers to free religious expression but also the acceptance of the legitimacy of religious difference. In his famous letters *Concerning Toleration*, Locke vigorously and with consummate lucidity traced the results to be anticipated if such a principle were to be rejected. In effect he held that without a working and a legally recognized tolerance of divergent religious beliefs the entire system of natural rights would disintegrate.

A necessary corollary of this reasoning is an insistence upon the absence of a preferential position for any one particular faith. Locke seems vigorously to have pressed this issue too, but here he was fore-shadowed by the statements and activities of an American colonist, Roger Williams. The Protestant Reformation has often been misconceived as having been based, from its inception, upon the idea of complete divorcement of church from civil affairs. Such was not the case and early Puritan New England, in the Calvinist tradition, had established a theocracy, a thoroughgoing union of the civil government with a religion. Williams, exiled from Massachusetts for refusing to conform to the religious dictates of this church state, founded in Rhode Island a colony based on the premise that no connection should exist between the civil government and the expression of religious belief. In his famous *Bloudy Tenant of Persecution*, Roger Williams detailed his case for absolute separation, holding that only under such a condition could worship be truly free. It is of deep significance that the Rhode Island experiment prospered, for its success and that of other communities which did likewise demonstrated the validity of the principle to those early Americans who were so concerned to found a genuine democracy.

Toleration, the acceptance of all religious beliefs, and disestablishment, the refusal to grant to any particular denomination a preferred position, these have stood as the primary pillars supporting the concept of religious liberty. The meaning of this principle for our own

day and the relevance of its history are clearly and beautifully explained in the words of Supreme Court Justice Black.¹

[The] words of the First Amendment reflected in the minds of early Americans a vivid mental picture of conditions and practices which they fervently wished to stamp out in order to preserve liberty for themselves and for their posterity. A large proportion of the early settlers of this country came here from Europe to escape the bondage of laws which compelled them to support and attend government favored churches. The centuries immediately before and contemporaneous with the colonization of America had been filled with turmoil, civil strife, and persecutions, generated in large part by established sects determined to maintain their absolute political and religious supremacy. With the power of government supporting them, at various times and places, Catholics had persecuted Protestants, Protestants had persecuted Catholics, Protestant sects had persecuted other Protestant sects, Catholics of one shade of belief had persecuted Catholics of another shade of belief, and all of these had from time to time persecuted Jews. In efforts to force loyalty to whatever religious group happened to be on top and in league with the government of a particular time and place, men and women had been fined, cast in jail, cruelly tortured, and killed. Among the offenses for which these punishments had been inflicted were such things as speaking disrespectfully of the view of ministers of government-established churches, nonattendance at those churches, expressions of nonbelief in their doctrine, and failure to pay taxes and tithes to support them.

These practises of the Old World were transplanted to and began to thrive in the soil of the new America. [becoming] so common place as to shock the freedom loving colonials into a feeling of abhorrence. The imposition of taxes to pay ministers' salaries and to build and maintain churches and church property aroused their indignation. It was these feelings which found expression in the First Amendment.

The meaning and scope of the first amendment, . . . in the light of its history and the evils it was designed forever to suppress, [is] at least this:

Neither a State nor the Federal Government can set up a church. Neither can pass laws which aid one religion, aid all religions, or pre-

¹ *Everson v. Board of Education of the Township of Ewing et al.*, 330 U. S. 1 (1947)

The Principle of Separation

fer one religion over another. Neither can force nor influence a person to go to or to remain away from church against his will or force him to profess a belief or disbelief in any religion. No person can be punished for entertaining or professing religious beliefs or disbeliefs, for church attendance or nonattendance. No tax in any amount, large or small, can be levied to support any religious activities or institutions, whatever they may be called, or whatever form they may adopt to teach or practise religion. Neither a State nor the Federal Government can, openly or secretly, participate in the affairs of any religious organizations or groups and vice versa. In the words of Jefferson, the clause against establishment of religion by law was intended to erect "a wall of separation between church and State."

How has this principle influenced the course of American educational development? Many would respond that the application of the separation doctrine to education has meant the isolation of the school from religion, from moral and spiritual values. The primary function of this chapter is to consider the validity of this challenge and the several ways proposed to meet it. Others would, of course, contend that the public school in the United States has moved ahead as far as it has largely because of its independence from church control and that any moves in the direction of a closer relationship are undesirable. Let us postpone consideration of this controversy temporarily and note first the unequivocally demonstrable evidences of the influence of the separation principle upon education.

The Principle Applied. The several states vary considerably in the extent to which, by law or in fact, they carry out the principle of church state separation. However, a few generalizations are in order. Religious liberty is guaranteed in all states by constitution or statute. Nowhere is there legal sanction for compulsory church attendance or support. In only a few states are religious tests employed as qualifications for public office, in these acknowledgement of belief in a Supreme Being or in a future state of rewards and punishments, but not denominational affiliation, is legally required.

Specifically with regard to the conduct of education, state constitutions are neither as uniform nor as unambiguous. With regard to guaranteeing the right of free access to any school, public or private,

only one state (Kentucky) makes specific provision: "Nor shall any man be compelled to send his child to any school to which he may be conscientiously opposed . . ." It should be noted, however, that the United States Supreme Court, in the Oregon decision of 1925, established the principle that no state could require all children to attend public schools. Almost every state now follows a constitutional mandate prohibiting the expenditure of public funds for sectarian purposes, although in some states discretion is allowed to local units with regard to local revenues. Many state constitutions go further and forbid "sectarian instruction" in the public schools, although there is considerable disagreement as to what is "sectarian instruction."

State law and the opinions of state courts have refined and made more explicit the implications of these constitutional provisions for the conduct of education. The operation of these in the public schools is detailed in the table on pages 558 to 561 which attempts to summarize prevailing practices as reported in 1956. It is apparent that nonuniformity is the chief characteristic. Clearly, no general agreement on the meaning of the separation principle for education has been reached. Inevitably, the resolution of the attendant problems will be exceedingly complex.

To illustrate the prevailing relationship between denominational religion and public education, the following excerpts from the laws of the state of California are reproduced. The Constitution of the State of California provides (Article IV, Section 30):

Neither the Legislature, nor any county, city and county, township, school district, or other municipal corporation, shall ever make an appropriation, or pay from any public fund whatever, or grant anything to or in aid of any religious sect, church, creed, or sectarian purpose or help to support or sustain any school, college, university, hospital, or other institution controlled by any religious creed, church, or sectarian denomination whatever; nor shall any grant or donation of personal property or real estate ever be made by the State, or any city, city and county, town, or other municipal corporation for any religious creed, Church, or sectarian purpose whatever . . .

In Article IX, Section 8, the California Constitution provides:

The Principle of Separation

No public money shall ever be appropriated for the support of any sectarian or denominational school or any school not under the exclusive control of the officers of the public schools nor shall any sectarian or denominational doctrine be taught, or instruction thereon be permitted directly or indirectly, in any of the common schools of this State

Finally, the Education Code of the State of California provides

No publication of a sectarian, partisan, or denominational character, shall be used or distributed in any school or be made a part of any school library, nor shall any sectarian or denominational doctrine be taught in any school. Any school district or city, the officers of which knowingly allow any schools to be taught in violation of this section, forfeits all right to any State or county apportionment of school moneys, and upon satisfactory evidence of any violation the Superintendent of Public Instruction and school superintendent shall withhold both State and county apportionments

This, then, is a brief picture of the legal and judicial framework within which the problem of religion and public education must be considered. For many, these regulations and prohibitions are absolutely essential to the continued health of public education, some, indeed, would go much further. Increasingly, though, the situation here described has produced dissatisfaction and a demand for change and reorientation. Many are convinced that the conventional interpretation of the First Amendment and its applications to education have gone far beyond anything ever intended by the Constitution's authors.² They call for a much closer alignment of religious and educational interests and a rather extensive program of mutual support. Others, to date more numerous and more influential, seem generally to accept the prevailing interpretations of the First Amendment but feel that, within its limitations, much more can and should be done in public religious education than has so far been accomplished. We turn now to consider these various attitudes and the ways in which it is proposed that the American school should conceive of its function.

² See for example James O'Neill *Religion and Education under the Constitution* (New York: Harper, 1949)

Public Support of Church Schools

The most sweeping proposals for making religion more central to the educational process call for public subsidy of religious education. These range all the way from demands that public funds pay the costs of transportation for parochial school pupils to the suggestion that each denomination organize its own schools and then call upon the government for financial support. It is obvious that the implications of these proposals for the general conduct of education are far-reaching. On what grounds are they advanced?

In the first place, there is the position, official with the Roman Catholic Church, and strongly held by members of certain other denominations, that a *public* school is by its very nature unsuited to the teaching of genuine religion. The official papal pronouncements on education condemn both the "mixed" and the "neutral" school, in which either all faiths are equally regarded or from which denominational emphases are excluded, as being in effect noneducational. Education without a religious orientation, it is held, is not education at all. Therefore, it is deemed essential that churches actively sponsor and maintain schools representing their particular denominational principles. This is the policy of the Roman Catholic Church especially, and to a lesser degree it is followed by other denominations, notably the Lutheran and the Seventh Day Adventist churches.

This stand is reinforced, in the second place, by the contention that a democratic society, in view of its commitment to equality of opportunity, is obligated to support any genuine educational endeavor, regardless of its sponsorship. If, it is argued, parents and children find it necessary to utilize private rather than public educational facilities, and if society has authorized the private school as legitimately serving the educational function, then society cannot so act as to discriminate against the nonpublic school. Any such discriminative practice would be both inconsistent and undemocratic. Therefore, the argument runs, society through its government is simply performing a legitimate and necessary public function when it lends aid to private education. The papal encyclical, as it calls upon civil government to

"promote and foster" denominational education, makes this position explicit

When it is recognized that about 90 percent of all private precollege education in the United States is denominational in character and that over 90 percent of the denominational education is Roman Catholic parochial education, the nature of the controversy becomes more clear. When it is urged that private education receive public support, it is manifestly denominational education that is to be the major recipient and more specifically Roman Catholic parochial education. The nature of 'religious' education, therefore, becomes in effect the central issue.

Public support of religious education has considerable precedent, both in history and contemporaneously. It should not be necessary to review again the extensive involvements of churches with the history of American education, but it seems appropriate to note those policies and practices currently in effect which indicate the degree to which denominational education is today the recipient of public assistance or protection. To a considerable extent, denominational religious education proceeds within the public schools, as the table on pages 558 to 561 discloses. The Bible is read, the psalms or prayers are recited, hymns and carols are sung in many if not most public schools. But this is found inadequate, impolitic, if not altogether undesirable by many on several counts. Many feel that inevitably these are peripheral to the public school curriculum, do not give sufficient place to truly religious concerns, and insist that more extensive provisions can only be made in schools under church control. Still others insist that religious experiences of this sort in the public schools are discriminatory since almost universally these activities represent a Protestant orientation, the only means of redressing such an imbalance is for sects of other views to conduct schools of their own where their religious views will receive full recognition. Many, of course contend that even these activities place the public school in too intimate a relationship with sectarian religion and ask for their abandonment.

It is evident that the question of the degree to which public money should assist denominational educational efforts is an extremely complex issue. By no means have all its aspects been seriously studied or investigated. There is some indication of the legal status of this matter

to be obtained from certain judgments of the federal courts. While there is inevitably disagreement with the verdict of the bench on matters of this sort, their decisions necessarily stand as law until rescinded or revised by some future court. To govern the matter of public support of parochial education, three principles appear to have been established as the federal courts have in recent years considered the conduct of education in its relation to the "establishment of religion" clause of the First Amendment.

The Oregon Case. Our examination in Chapter 14 of the role of the federal courts in American educational affairs included a résumé of this episode. We shall not review the details, but it is necessary to state the basic outlines of that decision once again.

The Supreme Court then (1925) held that a state government could not legislate away the right of parents to decide for themselves the character of the education they wished for their children. Insofar as this parental decision was also a matter of conscience, of religious conviction, a restriction upon it constituted an abridgement of religious liberty and hence was contrary to the intent of the first amendment. The Oregon judgment (as had the Dartmouth College case one hundred years before) preserved the integrity of *private* educational institutions. While this decision reaffirmed the right of the state to regulate and to supervise private schools, it obligated the state to do nothing which would jeopardize or prejudice those schools. It is to this statement first and foremost that those point who wish the state, through its tax resources, to promote and encourage private denominational education.³

The Louisiana (Cochran) Case. A Louisiana law, providing for the distribution by the state of free textbooks to all school children, public or private, was challenged as contrary to the First Amendment. In 1920 the Louisiana court held that the state law was not unconstitutional, on the basis of what has come to be called the 'child benefit' theory. It was found by the court that the intent of the law was to benefit children as children and as future citizens of the state, and that the assistance this might render to parochial schools was inci-

³ *Pierce [Governor of Oregon] v. Society of Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary* 263 (U S) 510 (1923)

dental and a by product This judgment was affirmed by the federal Supreme Court (281 U S 370, 1930) Thus, it would appear that a second principle was enunciated that the state's obligation to serve the child takes precedence over the character of the school he attends This stand is well expressed in a subsequent decision on a similar question handed down by the Mississippi court⁴

The religion to which children of school age adhere is not subject to control by the state, but the children themselves are subject to its control If the pupil may fulfil its duty to the state by attending a parochial school, it is difficult to see why the state may not fulfil its duty to the pupil by encouraging it by all suitable means The state is under a duty to ignore the child's creed but not its need It cannot control what one child may think, but it can and must do all it can to teach the child how to think The state which allows the pupil to subscribe to any religious creed should not because of his exercise of this right proscribe him from benefits common to all The narrow construction contended for by complainants would compel the pupil to surrender use of his books when and because he elected to transfer from a public school to a qualified parochial school Such would constitute a denial of equal privilege on sectarian grounds

The New Jersey Bus (Everson) Case. In 1947 the United States Supreme Court stated a third principle when it held as constitutional the practice of using public money to pay the transportation costs of Roman Catholic parochial school pupils Suit was brought challenging this practice on the grounds that public support of such costs constituted support of a sectarian institution and therefore was clearly contrary to the sense of the First Amendment In a five to four decision the Supreme Court expanded the child benefit theory by holding that the payment (in this case) of bus fares was primarily a 'welfare' measure, a public act designed solely for the protection and advantage of the children, and as such was within constitutional bounds The court here argued that the First Amendment requires the State to be a neutral in its relations with groups of religious believers and non believers, it does not require the State to be their adversary To

⁴ *Chance v. Mississippi State Textbook Rating and Purchasing Board* 200 So. 706 (Mississippi 1941)

deprive children of services designed for the general welfare because of religious belief or affiliation would constitute discriminatory action and this also the court held to be prohibited by the First Amendment. This stand is aptly summarized as Justice Black argues

New Jersey cannot consistently with the establishment of religion clause of the first amendment contribute tax raised funds to the support of an institution which teaches the tenets and faith of any church. On the other hand, other language of the amendment commands that New Jersey cannot hamper its citizens in the free exercise of their own religion. Consequently it cannot exclude individual [members of any faith] because of their faith, or lack of it, from receiving the benefits of public welfare legislation. we must be careful, in protecting the citizens of New Jersey against State-established churches, to be sure that we do not inadvertently prohibit New Jersey from extending its general State law benefits to all citizens without regard to their religious belief.^a

With regard to public support of church schools, therefore, these principles seem currently to be recognized as legitimate (1) that the government—state or federal—cannot legislate private schools out of existence, (2) that, in cases where benefits to the child are involved, the awarding of such benefits must take precedence over the possibility of incidental aid to denominational agencies, and (3) that the benefits of general public welfare legislation cannot be withheld on the grounds that churches or religious institutions may receive assistance.

Continuing Controversy. Opposition to these principles is widespread and vigorous. While there are those who oppose the commingling of church and state out of a flatly antireligious bias, the more serious questions are raised by those who see dangers to the independence of both church and public education in current tendencies. They see, in the moves to increase or expand public support of denominational education, the possibility that sectarian concerns may come to subvert or supplant the larger community concerns for which public funds should be spent. They fear that, with the over 200 separate denominations, each church may ultimately find it expedient to establish its own schools and to call upon the government for support. They ask,

^a *Everson v. Board of Education of the Township of Ewing et al. cit*

How do we accomplish the harmonizing and unification of our heterogeneous society if we revert to a situation in which schools are the province of competing, often jealous, certainly highly individualistic churches? Conversely, it is a conviction widely held that as the reliance of churches upon public financial support increases, for schools or for any other activity, the more surely will the churches come to be regulated and dominated by the civil government.

We can see this opposition in terms of the three currently ruling principles as well. That this difference of opinion exists at the highest levels is clearly demonstrated by the fact that the decision of the Supreme Court in the New Jersey case just cited represents the opinions of but five of the nine justices who heard the testimony. The ruling that the state cannot enact and enforce a public education monopoly" (the Oregon decision) is regarded by many as an unwarranted and undesirable interpretation of the Constitution. Noting that the state is made responsible for the adequacy and effectiveness of education, private as well as public, these argue that the state should have the right to eliminate those schools for which the general welfare is subordinate to some private emphasis. Further, they contend, the continued existence of nonpublic schools, especially at the precollege levels, tends to perpetuate social cleavages and misunderstandings which a truly *universal* public education would eliminate.

What of the contention that to deprive denominational schools of public assistance is to penalize the child for his religious affiliation? Those who oppose public aid to church schools hold that the "child benefit" theory is based upon a misconception. In the United States, they argue, society has established schools which are open to all, free to all, and representative of no special interests. All the benefits to which the 'child-benefit' theory refers are, or should be, available in these, the public schools. Parents are free to select public or private education for their children. Presumably such selection is made by parents in terms of certain particular benefits which are felt to accrue to attendance at one or the other type of school. Thus, the benefits of an education with a religious orientation are provided by denominational schools and the benefits of small classes and a select social group are provided by expensive private academies. To contend that children

are being deprived of certain benefits, when they or their parents freely choose such schools, ignores the fact that other schools with other benefits could have been chosen. The argument concludes by holding that it is not the responsibility of society through the public treasury to ensure that every conceivable child benefit is equally supplied by every type of school. That obligation is peculiar to the schools which society as a whole has established.

Nor is the opposition convinced of the validity of the general welfare principle as applied to this problem. The Louisiana case authorized a policy of public supply of textbooks to parochial school pupils; the New Jersey decision approved public payment of the transportation costs of such students. The question that is raised is simply, Can such practices be conceived solely as welfare programs or are they clearly and demonstrably contribution in support of religious activity? A further question is asked. If it be legitimate to supply textbooks and bus fares to private or parochial school children from public funds, what in the educational budget is out-of bounds? The answer to such questions presented by Justice Rutledge in his dissenting opinion in the New Jersey case aptly illustrates this view:

Does New Jersey's action furnish support for religion by use of the taxing power? Certainly it does, if the test remains undiluted as Jefferson and Madison made it, that money taken by taxation from one is not to be used or given to support another's religious training or belief, or indeed one's own. . . . New Jersey's action . . . exactly fits the type of exaction and the kind of evil at which Madison and Jefferson struck. Under the test they framed it cannot be said that the cost of transportation is no part of the cost of education or of the religious instruction given. That it is a substantial and a necessary element is shown most plainly by the continuing and increasing demand for the State to assume it. Nor is there pretense that it relates only to the secular instruction given in religious schools or that any attempt is or could be made toward allocating proportional shares as between the secular and religious instruction. It is precisely because the instruction is religious and relates to a particular faith, whether one or another, that parents send their children to religious schools. . . .
Finally, transportation, where it is needed, is as essential to education as any other element. . . . Now as always the core of the

educational process is the teacher pupil relationship without transportation to bring teacher and pupil together in such an effective teaching environment, there can be not even the skeleton of what our times require. Hardly can it be maintained that transportation is the least essential of these items, or that it does not in fact aid, encourage, sustain, and support just as they do, the very process which is its purpose to accomplish. No less essential is it, or the payment of its cost, than the very teaching in the classroom or payment of the teacher's sustenance. No rational line can be drawn between payment for such larger, but not more necessary, items [e.g., teachers' salaries, building and equipment costs, etc.] and payment for transportation. The only line that can be so drawn is one between more dollars and less. Certainly in this realm such a line can be no valid constitutional measure. Now as in Madison's time, not the amount but the principle of assessment is wrong.⁶

The Released-Time Religious Education Program

A substantial body of laymen, educators, and religious leaders has long been concerned about the minor place given to religious education in the public schools but has at the same time held fast to a belief in the fundamental rightness of public education. Such have not endorsed, and many have vigorously disapproved, the efforts of those who have advocated public support of church schools as the only possible solution. They have attempted to promote rather a cooperative arrangement whereby church and public school, each remaining independent in its own sphere, would provide to public school children some sort of religious educational experience. Under the leadership predominantly of the Religious Education Association (see Chapter 22), a scheme was devised and put into operation to "release" a part of the public school student's time to the churches for religious instruction. The program was inaugurated in 1914 in Gary, Indiana, and has grown from an original one-city enrollment of over 600 pupils to a reported enrollment of well over 2 million in 2,500 communities in the 1950's. While patterns vary, in general the released time plan involves the

⁶ *Everson v. Board of Education of the Township of Ewing et al. op. cit.*

excusing of public school children from their regular school schedules for one period (40 minutes to 1 hour) per week in order that they may attend religious education classes. These are normally conducted and supervised by the various denominations, away from school premises, and without the grant of academic credit. Enrollment is voluntary. It is impossible to generalize regarding the content of such courses, they range from strictly sectarian to interdenominational and non-specific spiritual presentations.

The logic supporting such departures is clear and simple. It is felt that since the ordinary public school is neither designed nor equipped to teach genuine religious matters, and since this means a resultant gap in the educational program, some outside provision should be made. Accepting the fact that Sunday schools and religious education classes held after the regular school schedule were inadequate means of meeting the need, it was agreed that some means of reaching the child during what he felt were his 'business hours' had to be devised. Further, it was felt that religion, if more closely associated with school, would tend to receive more serious consideration as being relevant, important, and not just a Sunday affair. Such a program would not, it was believed, infringe on anyone's religious liberty, he was free to partake or abstain. It would not involve public support of religious activities, since all denominations were welcome participants, no preferential status for particular churches would result.

While a judgment on the over all success or effectiveness of the released time program is altogether impossible (by reason, among other things, of the varying objectives sought by different communities), it seems clear that serious questions are today being raised. There are those who from the outset have opposed such a move, holding that it places the public schools in the position of supporting various churches and of discriminating against particular beliefs. This was the issue in two cases that have been heard by the federal Supreme Court in recent years: the famous *Champaign, Illinois, or McCollum* case (333 U S 203, 1948) and the *New York City released time* religious education case (343 U S 306, 1952). While the decisions in both cases reflect substantial majorities in the court (eight to one in the *McCollum* case, six to three in the *New York City* case), numerous

questions continue to be raised as to the future shape of any released time activity. Essentially, the two cases revolved around the question whether or not the public schools, by cooperating with local religious organizations, were in fact unconstitutionally (1) aiding certain religious groups and (2) discriminating against others. While the *McCollum* decision was for a time the subject of intense controversy, it became clear that released time religious education in the future was to be governed by the following rulings of the court: (1) that such programs could not be conducted on school property or using facilities supplied from tax funds, (2) that such programs could not make use of the 'compulsory school machinery, the compulsory attendance laws, to strengthen their status, and (3) that such programs could not be "promoted" by the tax supported public school authorities.

The *McCollum* decision, while it declared the Champaign program unconstitutional, left many questions unanswered. Its complexity and ambiguity moved Justice Jackson, though agreeing with the majority, to express his concern at the possibility that the Supreme Court was in danger of becoming a super board of education for every school district in the Nation.

So far as I can see this Court does not tell the State court where it may stop, nor does it set up any standards by which the State court may determine that question for itself. If we are to eliminate everything that is objectionable to any of these warring sects or inconsistent with any of their doctrines, we will leave public education in shreds. It must be expected that, no matter what practice prevails, there will be many discontented and possibly belligerent minorities. We must leave some flexibility to meet local conditions, some chance to progress by trial and error.

The program of released time religious education in New York City was found by the Supreme Court to be within constitutional bounds. The majority held that, unlike the Champaign system, the arrangements in New York City involved no use of tax supported buildings or equipment, no costs to the public school system, and no "coercion" of children into the program. Justice Douglas, speaking for the majority, held that

Religious Education in the Public Schools

Within the past few years growing attention has been paid to the possibility of introducing religious education directly into the public school curriculum. Two notable statements have appeared arguing for such a policy and detailing to some extent the ways in which it could be accomplished. The Committee on Religion and Education of the American Council on Education issued a report in 1947 entitled *The Relation of Religion to Public Education, the Basic Principles* and the Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association in 1951 published its findings and recommendations on this question under the title *Moral and Spiritual Values in the Public Schools*. In discussing the issue of religious education as a public school function, we shall follow the logic and suggestions of these two statements.

Fundamentally, subscription to such a policy for public education is based upon four premises: first, that the separation of church and state in our society is an essential but that this does not at all require the separation of religion from education; second, that the several attempts to promote religious education in ways more or less separate from regular school activity have tended to perpetuate a divorcement of religion from the rest of life; third, that to continue this divorcement places the schools in the position of fostering secularism, essentially an antireligious morality; and fourth, that to omit the study of religion means that American youth fail to come into intelligent contact with one of the culture's most important components. From such convictions, the argument proceeds to detail the responsibilities of public education in this area.

When it is contended that religion is such a highly controversial area that, in the interests of harmony, it should be excluded from public school study, the proponents of religious education have a ready answer. Do we, they ask, exclude economic or political matters from our schools simply because they are controversial? On the contrary, as the Educational Policies Commission notes, we teach and study about such questions "on the very sensible theory that students need to know the issues being faced and to get practice in forming sound judgments."

We cannot, they continue, persist in treating religion as a field apart. Should we then attempt to find what has been called a common core of religious belief—those doctrines and values to which all churches subscribe—and teach this in the public school? This suggestion of a nonsectarian, presumably noncontroversial basis for a religious education program has received little support. The Educational Policies Commission rejects this idea as both impractical and impolitic, noting that

... an inquiry into this possibility reveals no substantial agreement on *religious*, as distinguished from moral and spiritual, questions. Not even the reading of the Bible, nor even the reading of the Old Testament, can be brought within the area of "agreed" religion. Further, it is necessary to respect the fact that although the Christian denominations together have more adherents than any other religious group in the United States, our public schools serve no inconsiderable number of people of other religious faiths, as well as those who claim no religious affiliations or convictions whatever.⁷

Religious educators go further, they find such a proposal educationally, as well as theologically, unsound.

The notion of a common core suggests a watering down of the several faiths to the point where common essentials appear. This might easily lead to a new sect—a public school sect—which would take its place alongside the existing faiths and compete with them. . . to limit teaching to areas in which there is substantial agreement would leave education powerless at the cutting edge of a changing culture. We do not believe the schools should be asked to do in the religious realm what they have rejected in other fields.⁸

It is often suggested that the responsibilities of public education should extend only as far as concern for "moral and spiritual values," and that explicitly religious subject matter should be excluded. This argument holds that the emphasis in public schools upon tolerance,

⁷ Educational Policies Commission, *Moral and Spiritual Values in the Public Schools* (Washington, D. C., National Education Association 1951) p. 77. Used by permission.

⁸ Committee on Religion and Education, *The Relation of Religion to Public Education: the Basic Principles* (Washington, D. C., American Council on Education 1947) pp. 15, 16, 28. Used by permission.

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Within the past few years growing attention has been paid to the possibility of introducing religious education directly into the public school curriculum. Two notable statements have appeared arguing for such a policy and detailing to some extent the ways in which it could be accomplished. The Committee on Religion and Education of the American Council on Education issued a report in 1947 entitled *The Relation of Religion to Public Education, the Basic Principles* and the Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association in 1951 published its findings and recommendations on this question under the title *Moral and Spiritual Values in the Public Schools*. In discussing the issue of religious education as a public school function, we shall follow the logic and suggestions of these two statements.

Fundamentally, subscription to such a policy for public education is based upon four premises: first, that the separation of church and state in our society is an essential but that this does not at all require the separation of religion from education; second, that the several attempts to promote religious education in ways more or less separate from regular school activity have tended to perpetuate a divorcement of religion from the rest of life; third, that to continue this divorcement places the schools in the position of fostering secularism, essentially an antireligious morality, and fourth, that to omit the study of religion means that American youth fail to come into intelligent contact with one of the culture's most important components. From such convictions, the argument proceeds to detail the responsibilities of public education in this area.

When it is contended that religion is such a highly controversial area that, in the interests of harmony, it should be excluded from public school study, the proponents of religious education have a ready answer. Do we, they ask, exclude economic or political matters from our schools simply because they are controversial? On the contrary, as the Educational Policies Commission notes, we teach and study about such questions "on the very sensible theory that students need to know the issues being faced and to get practice in forming sound judgments."

We cannot, they continue, persist in treating religion as a field apart. Should we then attempt to find what has been called a common core of religious belief—those doctrines and values to which all churches subscribe—and teach this in the public school? This suggestion of a nonsectarian, presumably noncontroversial basis for a religious education program has received little support. The Educational Policies Commission rejects this idea as both impractical and impolitic, noting that

... an inquiry into this possibility reveals no substantial agreement on *religious*, as distinguished from moral and spiritual, questions. Not even the reading of the Bible, nor even the reading of the Old Testament, can be brought within the area of agreed religion. Further, it is necessary to respect the fact that although the Christian denominations together have more adherents than any other religious group in the United States, our public schools serve no inconsiderable number of people of other religious faiths, as well as those who claim no religious affiliations or convictions whatever.⁷

Religious educators go further, they find such a proposal educationally, as well as theologically, unsound.

The notion of a common core suggests a watering down of the several faiths to the point where common essentials appear. This might easily lead to a new sect—a public school sect—which would take its place alongside the existing faiths and compete with them. To limit teaching to areas in which there is substantial agreement would leave education powerless at the cutting edge of a changing culture. We do not believe the schools should be asked to do in the religious realm what they have rejected in other fields.⁸

It is often suggested that the responsibilities of public education should extend only as far as concern for moral and spiritual values,⁹ and that explicitly religious subject matter should be excluded. This argument holds that the emphasis in public schools upon tolerance,

⁷ Educational Policies Commission *Moral and Spiritual Values in the Public Schools* (Washington D. C., National Education Association 1951) p. 77. Used by permission.

⁸ Committee on Religion and Education *The Relation of Religion to Public Education: the Basic Principles* (Washington D. C. American Council on Education 1947) pp. 15-16. 28. Used by permission.

Government may not finance religious groups nor undertake religious instruction nor blend secular and sectarian education nor use secular institutions to force one or some religion on any person. But we find no constitutional requirement which makes it necessary for Government to be hostile to religion and to throw its weight against efforts to widen the effective scope of religious influence.

The minority in the court flatly disagreed. They held that any "release" of children during the hours in which they are compelled by law to attend school constitutes "coercion." Justice Black could see "no significant difference between the invalid Illinois system and that of New York here sustained. The state thus makes religious sects beneficiaries of its power to compel children to attend secular schools. Any use of such coercive power by the state to help or hinder some religious sects or to prefer all religious sects over non believers or vice versa is just what I think the First Amendment forbids." Justice Jackson maintained that the school, during released time, "serves as a temporary jail for a pupil who will not go to church. . ."

this is governmental constraint in support of religion. . . My evangelistic brethren confuse an objection to compulsion with an objection to religion. It is possible to hold a faith with enough confidence to believe that what should be rendered to God does not need to be decided and collected by Caesar.

It is clear that these most recent rulings of the court on this issue have legitimized the institution of released time religious education provided it is conducted off school premises. Further, in the eyes of the court, it is allowable for the public schools to "cooperate" with religious groups in providing time for this activity, for the school to do otherwise would constitute "hostility" to religion. Many will hold with the minority that this reverses the McCollum decision, asking how we are to distinguish between tax supported property and tax supported time when both are in support of *compulsory* education. Many will find this (in the words of Justice Black's interpretation of the First Amendment) aid to all *religions*—discrimination against those who for one reason or another disapprove of the released time program. Still others will argue that in this arrangement the school is in fact promoting and

supporting sectarian activity. It is almost certain that further legal interpretation will be required.

The released time program has been found wanting by many on other grounds as well. Among the additional questions are these: Does such a program tend to place the public schools in a position of supporting only the dominant, the most aggressive, or the most affluent churches in a community? Is the teaching in such classes up to the standards which should be met by any activity which utilizes a part of the regular school day? Is this arrangement, by tending still to separate religion from the rest of school, defeating its purpose, is not religion here perhaps even more markedly than before a distinct and isolated element? Finally, and for many persons the most important question: Does the released time plan, when it sends children of Protestant belief to one class, those of Catholic faith to another, and Jewish children to a third (and in some instances the breakdown is even more refined) tend to accentuate and sharpen religious differences? If this be the result, should the *public* school be a party to such a tendency? Again, it is impossible to offer any general answers. It may be significant that many communities in recent years, for these and other reasons, have found it wise to cancel their released time programs and to deal with the matter of religious education in different ways.

A statement of Justice Frankfurter in the New York City case is instructive at this point. In his dissenting opinion, he stated:

The deeply divisive controversy aroused by the attempts to secure public school pupils for sectarian instruction would promptly end if the advocates of such instruction were content to have the school 'close its doors or suspend operations—that is, dismiss classes in their entirety without discrimination—instead of seeking to use the public schools as the instrument for security of attendance at denominational classes.

The unwillingness of the promoters of this movement to dispense with such use of the public schools betrays a surprising want of confidence in the inherent power of the various faiths to draw children to outside sectarian classes—an attitude that hardly reflects the faith of the greatest religious spirits.

Religious Education in the Public Schools

Within the past few years growing attention has been paid to the possibility of introducing religious education directly into the public school curriculum. Two notable statements have appeared arguing for such a policy and detailing to some extent the ways in which it could be accomplished. The Committee on Religion and Education of the American Council on Education issued a report in 1947 entitled *The Relation of Religion to Public Education, the Basic Principles* and the Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association in 1951 published its findings and recommendations on this question under the title *Moral and Spiritual Values in the Public Schools*. In discussing the issue of religious education as a public school function, we shall follow the logic and suggestions of these two statements.

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mutual respect, human dignity and brotherhood, cooperation, honesty, and reverence is altogether adequate and is all that the public schools should be expected to do. This is not meant to convey a complacent feeling that in this area public education is doing all that it can and must, but simply to indicate a belief that it is at these points that the schools can do the most effective job. The advocates of religious education do not agree.

But to assume that spiritual values embody the full, valid content of religion is quite another matter. The words "spiritual" and "moral" denote the value structure of life. Religion seeks personal identification with some ultimate source of values. It involves faith in the permanent validity and durability of these values. Religion has always supplied moral sanction for men's actions. No person is fully educated who has not gained a knowledge of the faiths men live by. And unless the schools are content to leave one of the major areas of life unexplored, the specifically religious beliefs and aspirations of human beings must have attention.⁹

Religion as such must be a part of the public school experience, in order to meet the need here expressed. The crucial question, then, is inevitably, *How* shall religion be taught? How shall it be taught so that the objectives are realized without involving the schools in bitter religious controversy, without offending this or that church or sect, without the school's becoming the agent of the dominant church in its community? The answer of the Educational Policies Commission is that "The public school can teach objectively *about* religion without advocating or teaching any religious creed." The schools, says the Commission, should present opportunities for the study and learning of the facts of contemporary religious faiths and institutions, their meaning for and impact upon modern society, both nationally and internationally. "The unity of our own country, our understanding of the other nations of the world, and respect for the rich religious traditions of all humanity would be enhanced by instruction about religion in the public school." The Committee on Religion and Education insists that we must go even further.

⁹ Committee on Religion and Education, *op cit.*, p. 19

The current interest in religious education will not, and should not be satisfied with acquiring a familiarity with religious history or even a familiarity with religion as empirical fact in community life. The position we are taking requires us to face this inadequacy of mere objective study. In its broadest sense religious education implies induction into the life of a religious community commonly represented by the church and synagogue, which necessarily stand apart from the public schools. If it [religious education] does not impel students toward the achievement of a faith and to that end create a sensitive awareness of the religious resources upon which men have learned to rely, it is less than education ought to be.¹⁰

* * *

It is not the function of this writing to suggest a particular program of religious education or to attempt to resolve the fundamental dilemma which the preceding discussion represents. We have attempted here only to explore the issue and the more important proposals for its effective settlement. Few will deny that the role of the public school in this area, either as active participant or as neutral abstainer is crucial. Few will deny, further, that even when agreement in principle is reached there yet remain significant and difficult problems to be surmounted. Where in the curriculum is the study of religion to be placed? Shall it be a required element at every level at certain levels, or an elective experience somewhat analogous to the study of art, or music, or the advanced study of literature? Are the majority of regular teachers qualified in the field of religion and if not what is required in the reorientation of programs of teacher education? And perhaps most critical of all, how do we avoid the potential danger, since this is to be a *public* effort, of state domination of religious matters or the opposite possibility of ecclesiastical controls over a phase of public activity? The problem is fundamental and insistent. We cannot avoid our responsibility to face it. We must seek its answer with patience, tolerance, and good will. Finally, it is well that we consider the problem in a full social perspective, noting with the Educational Policies Commission that here, as in all educational endeavor, the schools need partners.

Everyone knows that learning does not end with the years spent in school. Less evident, but equally true, is the fact that even during the school years the full scope of learning extends far beyond the hours spent in the schoolroom. Young people acquire their moral and spiritual values in many ways. The school is an important source of such values, but the school must always be a partner of the home, the church, and the community. The potential partners should also include the Big Four of mass communication (the press, radio, television, and motion picture) as well as the entire gamut of political, social, and economic institutions which touch the developing personalities of children and youth.

Many factors help to account for the importance of the school in this complex partnership. The school deals with an impressionable period of life. It serves a large proportion of the total population. It is the chief institution organized exclusively for educational purposes.

Nevertheless, a comprehensive view of moral and spiritual education must consider the negative and positive influences of the environment outside the schoolroom. For example, recent studies have shown how important the pre-school years can be. In these years children are almost completely under the direction of the home. Even during the years in school, a child who attends school for twelve full years will spend about one fifth of his waking hours in school and about four fifths of them outside the school. Even on school days, and even if a generous allowance is made for the hours spent in homework and extracurricular activities, the school still occupies scarcely half of the waking hours.

All social institutions, therefore, should recognize more clearly their joint responsibility in the development of moral and spiritual values in young people. Where these institutions work together, multiple benefits accrue, where they fail to cooperate, their best intentions are vitiated.¹¹

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

BASIC QUESTION. It is widely maintained that the public schools are failing to base education upon a morality, spiritual values, or perhaps Christian ethics. Would you agree that there was no religion in your public school life? If you do not agree, where in the curriculum did you find it? If you do agree, where in the curriculum should it appear, and how should it be presented?

¹¹ Educational Policies Commission, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-84.

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1. In 1925 the United States Supreme Court in the Oregon case rejected as unconstitutional a state law which could have led to the abolition of all private and parochial elementary schools in Oregon. Is there anything to be said for requiring all children to attend public schools? What are the arguments against such a policy?
2. Look up the famous Scopes or "monkey" trial which occurred in Tennessee in 1925. What do the course and outcome of this case suggest to you regarding the proper relation of religious faith and the conduct of education?
3. What are the arguments for and against the use of public funds to support denominational or parochial schools? Why is a decision on this matter so extremely important?
4. How effective, generally, has the released time religious education program proved to be? Should it be continued, reorganized, or abandoned?
5. All the foregoing questions, indeed this entire discussion, hinge ultimately upon one's interpretation of the tradition of separation of church and state as expressed in the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. What did this amendment mean to the men who wrote it? Do you think we should continue to interpret it in the same way in the twentieth century? What does your conclusion here seem to you to mean for the future conduct of American education?
6. How is the religious education question handled in other countries? Examine the specifics of church state school relationships in Canada, Mexico, England, France, or Holland. What does such study suggest to you as sound public policy in this matter for the United States?

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Freedom to Teach and to Learn: Academic Freedom and Academic Responsibility

IT IS SIGNIFICANT that the *first* amendment to the Constitution of the United States contains the basic guarantees of freedom of expression. Only a few will deny that democratic life is impossible without the freedom to think, speak, write as reason and conscience dictate. It is fitting that we consider as our final major educational problem the question of the application of the First Amendment to the conduct of education. For just as surely as democracy cannot survive the abrogation of freedom of expression, neither can education in and for that democracy function if that freedom is denied. If any one problem be selected as most central, most crucial, most far reaching in its implications, it is academic freedom.

In a world dominated by the struggle between totalitarian communism and democracy, this question is peculiarly critical. If the stakes in this struggle are the mind of man and the survival of Western civilization, then the way in which the minds of Americans and the traditions of Western culture are regarded in the United States is in deed of extreme consequence. If, in attempting to withstand the onslaughts of communism, we restrain the human mind and deny the Western tradition of freedom of thought, we shall have gone over to the enemy. We shall have abandoned that for which we claim to be

fighting, and we shall have lost the support of genuinely freedom-loving peoples everywhere

In this context, what of the freedom to teach and to learn? Recent occurrences on college campuses and within school systems indicate the extent and seriousness of the educational problem. Faculty members of all ranks have been dismissed, others have resigned, loyalty declarations have been imposed, and court actions are in progress as results of policies introduced in the name of promoting democracy and freedom. Were these actions justified? Have they enhanced and bolstered liberty in education?

To answer these and similar questions we must arrive at some working definition of academic freedom, of what we here call the freedom to teach and to learn. Is this freedom an absolute, a right without limits? Or, in a democracy, is it a privilege carrying with it certain clear and necessary obligations or responsibilities? In the light of our responses to such questions as these, we are confronted with the fact that not all who avail themselves of the privileges of academic freedom are committed to that freedom. There are those who would use academic freedom to destroy academic freedom, who with the protection of that freedom preach a doctrine which denies freedom. How far can freedom go in protecting the advocate of un freedom?

The History of the Concept of Academic Freedom

Freedom of teaching, of investigation, and of learning is not a new idea in Western civilization. Since the beginnings of organized education the question of intellectual liberty has been central. Incessantly and inevitably the question arises. In the interest of social stability, how much heterodoxy is permissible, how much difference of opinion is desirable? As Western civilization has increased in complexity and diversity, this problem has loomed ever larger, in times when political or ecclesiastical hegemony over large territory has obtained, the question has lain dormant.¹ In periods of reorganization, readjustment, or stress the issue has appeared afresh and with unabated insistency.

Four periods seem to stand out as landmarks in the history of this

principle For Western man the idea may be said to have had its first champion in Socrates, who, dedicated to the idea that the pursuit of truth could recognize no boundaries died rather than renounce this ideal Greek culture in the century before Socrates had risen to unprecedented heights—in philosophy, politics, and the arts—by virtue of dedication to the concept of individuality At a time when this ideal appeared to many to be the cause of cultural decline, the investigative, probing, uncompromising intellectuality of Socrates came to represent a threat to cultural stability His death can be said to mark the beginning of the end of Greek cultural glory The ancient world contributed a second defender of the concept of truth and intellectual freedom in the person of Jesus Christ, of whom it was written that he spoke to the Pharisees in the temple saying, Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free Western civilization thus inherited a tradition of individual intellectual liberty from the classical world out of both pagan and Christian sources

The second major milestone in the development of the principle of academic freedom was the product of medieval university life Dating from the remarkable twelfth century, as students and scholars from all over Europe came together in Paris, Bologna, Salerno or the other major university centers, the idea of the necessity of intellectual independence was advanced At first, universities had been entirely the vehicles for a narrow church orthodoxy and had been administratively the charges of diocesan officials The appearance of that new knowledge from the ancient cultures, the enlarged view of man and his world brought on by the crusades, and the growing restlessness of western Europe as it began to emerge from the restrictions of medieval life, all combined to thrust upon the universities new responsibilities The curriculum was enlarged beyond theology to include law, medicine, and philosophy The universities began gradually to demand and to obtain a growing measure of independence from political and ecclesiastical control, to insist upon an ever increasing degree of freedom to pursue truth

Some would say that this concept reached ¹maturity, and a third stage of development, with the German universities of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Partially dependent upon government subsidy

but free of denominational controls, these institutions—for example, the universities of Halle, Göttingen, Bonn, and Berlin—carried the meaning and the application of academic freedom to unprecedented levels. Reflecting both the new rationality of the “enlightenment” and the urge to intellectual freedom inherent in scientific development, these universities became, in many respects, models for the Western world. Out of this atmosphere emerged the famous German statements of *lehrfreiheit* (the freedom for the teacher to teach and to study in whatever directions seem to him to lead toward the truth) and *lernfreiheit* (freedom for the student to seek after knowledge in any manner calculated to bring him closer to the truth). From concepts such as these it is but a short step to what some have called the absolute right to freedom in teaching or the idea of the inviolability of the teacher as teacher, and the institution of the completely free elective system for students.

So far, this discussion of the development of academic freedom has dealt with higher education almost exclusively. Prior to the late nineteenth or early twentieth century, there seems little evidence that the question ever arose in relation to schools of less than college grade. As Brubacher notes, with particular reference to the United States:¹

There was really no reason why it should [have arisen]. The common school curriculum was so devoted to the three R's and the academy and high school curricula were so absorbed in either the classics or the practical studies necessary to getting ahead in a rapidly growing country that no one even thought of making room for a study of current social issues of a controversial nature. It is extremely doubtful, too, whether more than a handful of teachers were thoroughly enough trained to qualify for the privilege of unrestricted academic freedom.

Moreover, the rise of the public school system put a premium on keeping controversial issues out of the classroom. The success of the shift from private to public support of education depended in large part on keeping a united public opinion behind the public school. The public had been sufficiently divided on the issue of free *vs* private education so that it might have been calamitous for the whole public school enterprise to divide it further by admitting social issues such as religion and

¹ By permission from *A History of the Problems of Education*, by John S. Brubacher. Copyright 1947. McGraw Hill Book Company, Inc., pp. 633-634.

slavery into the public school curriculum Horace Mann, for instance, hearing that one of his state normal school teachers took a class to an abolitionist meeting, cautioned against the repetition of such an excursion as likely to endanger his hopes and plans for obtaining increased financial aid for the schools

That such is no longer the case is a truism Reference to the chapters on philosophy of education will serve to remind that few educational theorists today advocate a secondary, or even an elementary, curriculum totally devoid of concern for salient contemporary social issues

The experimentalist movement might be listed as the fourth of the chief periods in the history of academic freedom As experimentalists demanded a broader, more relevant, more true to life school experience, they were perforce calling for an educational atmosphere free of arbitrary restrictions, inhibitions, or circumscription Moreover, the experimentalist was looking at the whole of education, his demands extended the meaning of academic freedom downward from the college to the kindergarten

But, it is contended, while this may be the history of the development of the principle, we must consider that principle in terms of its meanings for today We must examine it in the context of actuality not in the abstractness of a cultural vacuum Several questions are inescapable if we are to apply the principle of intellectual liberty in professional education with wisdom and integrity

- 1 Is academic freedom—for both teacher and student—absolute limit less, and inalienable, or is it rather a privilege and an obligation with definite and justifiable limits?
- 2 Should the application of this freedom vary from grade level to grade level? Should a teacher be as free in the first grade as in college?
- 3 Must academic freedom be accommodated to specific local or cultural conditions, thus varying from place to place or should we strive to develop a universally applicable concept?
- 4 Are there certain obligations—such as duty to country or religious commitment—which must take precedence over a teacher's or a scholar's dedication to the free pursuit of truth?

The historical conflict in opinion on intellectual liberty is incisively illustrated by citing the views of two men who, each in a very differ

ent way, helped to usher in the modern world. Napoleon, founder of the existing patterns of French educational life, clearly stated the principle that academic freedom must be subordinate to political considerations and national loyalties.

My principal aim in the establishment of a teaching body is to have a means for directing political and moral opinions (*Paroles de Napoleon I au Conseil d'Etat*)

Of all political questions this [of education] is perhaps the most important. There will be no fixed political State if there is no teaching corps with fixed principles. . . I feel called upon to organize a system of education for the new generation, such that both political and moral opinions may be duly regulated thereby. (*Correspondance de Napoleon I, No 8328*)²

But Thomas Jefferson wrote in 1794 "The spirit of resistance to government is so valuable on certain occasions that I wish it always to be kept alive. It will often be exercised when wrong, but better so than not to be exercised at all." And in his famous First Inaugural Jefferson expanded this concept still further, with obvious implications for education, when he said

If there be any among us who wish to dissolve this union, or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed, as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it.

Academic Freedom in the United States Today

Academic freedom is an intangible, at least to the extent that it would be impossible to indicate with exactness the point at which it ceases to exist. Just as clearly, it is impossible to state positively the point at which such freedom becomes license. The most we can do here is to describe certain episodes in contemporary academic life which seem to many to represent unwarranted abridgements of such freedom, to reflect policies contrary to the democratic ethic. Varieties

² As cited in William H. Kilpatrick, *Source Book in the Philosophy of Education* (New York, Macmillan 1926) pp. 8-9.

of these infringements are numerous, three main types are presented as illustrative of the general problem

Censorship. Perhaps the most readily identifiable form of limitation of academic freedom is the actual censorship of educational activity. A listing of some of the more common evidences of this tendency will serve to indicate its nature. School libraries restrict their resources to materials that are considered safe. Books which deal with controversial issues in detail are either not stocked or their circulation is severely circumscribed, periodicals devoted to the airing of variant opinions on major political, economic, social, or religious questions are not purchased. Courses which deal with such matters are omitted from school and college curricula or, conversely, a sort of positive censorship is invoked whereby only faculty or curricula which represent an established 'right' point of view are employed. Within the past few years agencies of government at the local, state, and federal levels have attempted, with some success, to regulate and restrict educational activities through the use of censorship. Similarly nongovernmental interests of various kinds have acted to channel school operations in specifically desired directions or to curtail activities thought undesirable. The details of two such efforts can serve as illustrations.

In the fall of 1949 Jefferson Military College, a small private school in Mississippi, was offered a \$50 million endowment by a Texas lawyer, Judge George W. Armstrong. The school, 147 years old, was made the offer on condition that, in its general policies and in its curriculum, it teach and practice the doctrine of white supremacy. Furthermore, the donor stipulated that only Christian students be admitted. Two points are noteworthy in this instance. First, here was a clear and avowed attempt on the part of an outside interest to shape and control the conduct of education in one institution. Second, the widespread disfavor with which the announcement of this gift was received reflects not only a general antipathy toward the white supremacy idea but also a marked disapproval of any such blatant attempt to manipulate education. The donation was refused although the school's finances were precarious. The policies announced by Judge Armstrong are not never have been, and never will be the policies of Jefferson Mil-

tary College in view of the differences of policy involved, the board declines this offer"³

Also indicative of the censorship problem is the fairly constant pressure for the restriction of curricula and school books to noncontroversial matters. The American Library Association reported in 1954 that it knew officially of nearly one hundred instances of more or less organized activity to restrict or prohibit freedom of access to school or public library books. In one community, a school board voted to remove from school library shelves all books of fiction "for screening." In one state a law (since found unconstitutional) was passed requiring all school books to carry a statement of the author's connection, if any, with the Communist party or with "Marxist" doctrines. Introduced into the legislature of still another state in 1955 was the following bill, under the heading "Review of Library Books"

Section 1 The governing board of any school district maintaining a school library pursuant to this chapter shall, by resolution duly adopted by the board, designate a suitable employee or employees of the district to examine and review all books purchased for the library of the district within five years prior to the effective date of this section

Section 2 Immediately upon the completion of the review, the employee or employees designated by the board shall report, in writing, to the governing board of the school district whether any book in the school library contains any indecent, immoral, or obscene writings, drawings, or designs

Section 3 Any book reported to the board as containing any indecent, immoral, or obscene writings, drawings, or designs shall be considered by the governing board of the school district and thereupon the board shall either approve the book by resolution duly adopted or order the book removed from the school library

Section 4 On and after the effective date of this article no books shall be placed in the school library maintained by the governing board of any school district unless an employee or employees of the district designated by the board, by resolution duly adopted, has reported to the board that the book does not contain any indecent, immoral, or obscene writings, drawings, or designs and the board has approved the book by resolution adopted by the board

³ See *The New York Times* (Oct. 26, 28, 29, and 30, 1949)

But those who opposed the New York City action saw in it even greater potential dangers. Their position was most clearly presented in the following statement drafted by Archibald MacLachlan, representing a body of citizens protesting the ban of the *Nation*

The question before the Board was not the question of the suitability of the *Nation* as a textbook in the City's schools. The question was whether the *Nation* which had long been one of the periodicals available to New York City students, should continue to be available to them in ruling that it should not, and in giving its publication of the Bian shared articles as justification, the Board in effect enunciated two propositions, both of which in our opinion are contrary to American ideas of freedom and destructive of American principles.

The first is the proposition that any published material regarded, or which could be regarded, as objectionable on grounds of faith or creed by any group in the community should be excluded from the community's schools and school libraries.

The second is the proposition that the appearance in any publication of material of this kind justifies the suppression in schools and school libraries of the publication as a whole. In the case of a periodical this means that the past publication of such material justifies the suppression of future issues regardless of the general character and record of the periodical.

The vice of the second of these two propositions is apparent upon its face. The exclusion from public institutions, by public officials, of future issues of newspapers, magazines or other periodicals, on the basis of the character of the publication as a whole, cannot be defended even as censorship. It is extra judicial punishment pure and simple, and it involves a power of intimidation and possible blackmail in officials of government which no free society can tolerate and which a free press could not long survive.

The first proposition—that any publication objectionable on grounds of faith to any group in the community should be suppressed in the schools—though more plausible on its face, is equally vicious in fact. It is a repudiation on one side, of the principle of freedom in education, on the other, of the principle of the separation of church and state. The meaning of that latter tenet, so far as education is concerned, is that no church may use the public schools as instruments of propaganda. To give the churches of the country, or any of their members who might seek

to exercise it, the power to determine by simple veto what shall not be available to students in the public schools, or worse, for public officials to exclude automatically anything any group might be expected to wish excluded, is to do by negative action what the Constitution and the Courts forbid by positive action

The truth is that censorship and suppression in all their forms impoverish human life and warp the human mind in an increasing and progressive sickness. Those who practice them are led by the logic of one exclusion to the tragedy of the next. If the suppression of the *Nation* for having published the Blanshard articles is allowed to stand and if the propositions upon which it is justified are accepted the consequences to the schools, to the press and to the vitality of American freedom may well be very serious indeed.

Loyalty Oaths. I do not believe in and am not a member of nor do I support any party organization that believes in advocates or teaches the overthrow of the United States government by force or by any illegal, unconstitutional methods

The foregoing is the pledge of loyalty which was in force at the University of California in 1949 and 1950. Faculty members at that institution were required to subscribe to the above statement as one of the conditions of employment

Whereas loyalty oaths for teachers are futile in effecting the legitimate aims of such laws, that is an understanding of and loyalty towards American ideals, and whereas these laws can easily be used as an instrument to promote intolerance restrict our civil liberties and the freedom of teaching, and to accentuate propaganda against democratic ideals, and whereas these laws cast an undeserved aspersion on the integrity and loyalty of the teaching profession. Be it resolved therefore, that our chapters and all citizens are urged to oppose the enactment of such laws, and to work for their repeal in states where such laws are already on the statute books

This represents the official position of the most influential body of college teachers in the United States the American Association of University Professors

These two statements reflect what is surely one of the key educational

issues of our time, an issue that is magnified by current international political tensions. It is, further, a question on which professional opinion is not altogether unified and regarding which the view of the layman is frequently in direct opposition to that held by the teacher.

Essentially, the issue is this. In the face of acute international ideological disagreements, at a time when the very foundations of American democracy are being threatened by the policies and actions of totalitarian reaction, should we not take every precaution to ensure that the teaching in our schools and colleges is genuinely democratic? Specifically, would it not be wise to see to it that those who teach our children and youth are themselves sincerely and unequivocally committed to the processes of democracy and constitutional government? Should we not, therefore, require of everyone who is to engage in teaching some testimonial or pledge of his democratic faith and allegiance?

For many the answer is a vehement Yes! By the early 1950's some type of loyalty declaration was required of public school teachers in about twenty five states and of college teachers in at least twenty states. Some of these were in the process of judicial interpretation and a few have been officially repealed or unofficially removed, but the basic issue remains. On what grounds is such action defended?

In the first place, the advocate of such a measure responds with another question. Why *shouldn't* a teacher take such a pledge? It is common practice for many types of public service, and teachers, strategically placed as they are, should be the first to set the example. Furthermore, anyone who refuses to state his willingness to abide by and support the established laws and institutions is hardly fit to serve in the nation's classrooms. Thus, the second point in the argument of the proponents is that the oath procedure can serve to eliminate undesirable persons from the teaching profession. Those who might falsify their true allegiance and sign their names to a lie would be liable for prosecution on charges of perjury and could be eliminated through regular court action. In the third place, it is held, the teacher, whose influence upon the molding of public opinion is considerable, will by taking the oath be made more surely aware of his professional

duties and responsibilities. This includes the responsibility to refrain from using his position to promote particular points of view or to propagandize for special causes.

This position is expanded in the introductory section of the law instituting a loyalty oath for the teachers of New York State in 1949. The logic of this statement represents rather accurately much of the stand of those favoring this sort of action.

The legislature hereby finds and declares that there is common report that members of subversive groups, and particularly of the Communist Party and certain of its affiliated organizations, have infiltrated into public employment in the public schools of the state. This has occurred and continues despite the existence of statutes designed to prevent the appointment to or the retention in employment in public office and particularly in the public schools of the state of members of any organization which teaches or advocates that the government of the United States or of any state or of any political subdivision thereof shall be overthrown by force or violence or by any unlawful means. The consequence of any such infiltration into the public schools is that subversive propaganda can be disseminated among children of tender years by those who teach them and to whom the children look for guidance, authority, and leadership. The legislature finds that members of such groups frequently use their office or position to advocate and teach subversive doctrines. The legislature finds that members of such groups are frequently bound by oath, agreement, pledge or understanding to follow, advocate and teach a prescribed party line or group dogma or doctrine without regard to truth or free inquiry. The legislature finds that such dissemination of propaganda may be and frequently is sufficiently subtle to escape detection in the classroom. It is difficult therefore, to measure the menace of such infiltration in the schools by conduct in the classroom. The legislature deplores the failure heretofore to prevent such infiltration which threatens dangerously to become a commonplace in our schools.⁶

If this be the situation, it is argued, teachers, who of all professions consider themselves the chief custodians of free institutions, should

⁶ *Laws of New York 1949 Chapter 360* as quoted in ¹ *Knight and Hall Readings in American Educational History* (New York: Appleton Century-Crofts 1951) pp. 460ff. This the Feenberg law was found constitutional by the United States Supreme Court in a decision announced in March 1952.

willingly and enthusiastically testify to their loyalty To refuse to do so is a betrayal of trust

The contrary position has equally vigorous advocates and represents the views of a large part of the teaching profession The chief objections to the imposition of such a test for teachers seem to be the following (1) The requirement of a loyalty oath specifically from teachers, without concern for others who mold public opinion (journalists, broadcasters, or ministers, for example), singles teachers out as more disloyal, actually or potentially, than other groups The application of such a pledge cannot in any way contribute to the improvement of teaching It will serve only to demoralize by unnecessarily questioning teachers' loyalty and, as a consequence, may well have the effect of discouraging the best people from teaching (2) A loyalty oath is neither necessary nor will it be effective in accomplishing its intended purpose It is unnecessary because school and college officials already possess adequate authority to remove teachers who use their positions to propagandize or to promote subversion It is destined to be ineffective because the traitor whom the oath is designed to catch will hardly hesitate to sign it For Communists in particular, the lie is an indispensable weapon (3) Most important, from the teacher's point of view, is the belief that a loyalty oath might result in the restriction of intellectual liberty This objection has several facets Oaths of this sort, by constantly spotlighting the issue of communism or subversive activity, tend to produce an atmosphere of suspicion and fear The public may be led to think that all teachers are potentially dangerous, the teachers may be cowed into an anti intellectual attitude of submissiveness, conformity, and timidity Furthermore, even though an oath is legally enacted and administered, it is impossible to arrive at clear cut agreement on what constitutes violation of that oath, again, a teacher's actions would be restricted by virtue of inevitable uncertainty as to his position Finally, and potentially most damaging, educators see in the institution of such devices the establishment of a dangerous precedent Today the oath may proscribe disloyalty to "established institutions" Tomorrow, under different circumstances or stemming from a changed political complexion, particular religious beliefs or politico-economic theories may be placed under the ban Once started,

where does such a policy stop? The educator sees in actions of this sort a deadly parallel with the totalitarian procedures of Nazi or Soviet dictatorship and finds them altogether un-American. This central concern is admirably described by the late Max Radin, eminent jurist and teacher of law, in his discussion of "The Loyalty Oath at the University of California"⁷

The integrity of the University is injured when intellectual freedom is so much as threatened. This freedom is not merely a matter of being permitted to think and speak and write as one pleases. Its essence rests in a condition which is not even faintly apprehended by some, at least, of the defenders of the [loyalty oath procedure]. What it requires is an atmosphere where there is no sense of fear or constraint, no shadow of a Kommissar. When men engaged in intellectual pursuits who have never given anyone the slightest reason for doubting their loyalty as citizens, are told that each year they may not go about their tasks until they have made a public protestation of their loyalty, the atmosphere is poisoned and full intellectual freedom ends.

The Teacher and Political Activities Should a person's political (or social or religious) convictions and activities have any bearing upon his right to serve as a teacher? This question is paramount today as American education faces its new world responsibilities, and its implications reach the heart of the issue of academic freedom. In fact, both the question of censorship and that of loyalty oaths come together and to a head in this third issue. If it be found wise or necessary to curtail the teaching activities of certain persons because of their political opinions, a certain censorship of those opinions necessarily takes place. Similarly, if the loyalty oath is designed to keep persons with certain views out of the schools, it follows that where the oath is employed one's political or other convictions have great bearing upon his eligibility for teaching.

The postwar years have witnessed a considerable number of instances in which teachers have been discharged or denied employment on grounds of undesirable political activity. In the presidential election year of 1948, members of the faculties of several institutions were dis-

⁷ See American Association of University Professors *Bulletin* Vol 36 No 2 (Summer 1950) p 245. Used by permission.

missed because of their activities in behalf of the Progressive party and the candidacy of Henry A. Wallace. Two professors were discharged in January, 1949, from the faculty of the University of Washington for membership in the Communist party. Resignations of administrators and teachers have been forced, largely or at least partially, because of disapproval of the dismissed party's views and actions with respect to such matters as UNESCO, race relations, or pacifism. That these and other occurrences of a similar sort have a profound bearing upon the conduct of education in general is only too clear. One college dean noted that such dismissals and the accompanying pattern of more or less public investigation of teachers had cast a pall, a shadow, creating doubt as to how far scholars can now go in discussing controversial issues. In a large city school system, after a series of community controversies over the propriety of teaching certain allegedly Communist materials, a local newspaper asked teachers of history and civics if such pressures tended to intimidate them in their teaching. Over half of the teachers queried reported that they felt less free to discuss all phases of social studies, history, geography, political science, and international relations than (in 1954) than five years before. A larger number stated that many teachers were consciously avoiding controversial subjects for fear of losing their jobs. And some seven out of ten admitted that they had become more cautious about their book and magazine reading.⁸

The principles involved here apply to education at any level. Indeed, the National Education Association, representative of nearly every facet of American education, officially takes the position that Communists should not be permitted to teach at all regardless of grade level or subject field. The issue is clear, but its resolution is one of the most difficult problems facing the American people. Should such persons be permitted to teach? Are their political activities such as to endanger the health of the learning situation, are their attitudes such as to constitute perversions of academic freedom? Or, conversely, is the act of restraining such persons from teaching itself an abridgement or a denial of academic freedom?

In attempting to clarify this issue, we have chosen to confine our

⁸ See "The Timid Ones" *Time* April 5, 1954, 46.

discussion here to the problem of allowing Communists to teach. This is surely the major manifestation of this particular issue, and the pros and cons regarding it will apply equally to the others. Significantly, we must begin with the recognition that both sides—those who would prohibit Communists from teaching and those who would allow them freedom to teach—advance their arguments as defending the general principle of academic liberty. Both would accept, with little qualification, this definition of the place and function of academic freedom from the pen of philosopher Sidney Hook:⁹

If, as Cardinal Newman has observed, the function of a university is the discovery and publication of the truth in all branches of knowledge, then academic freedom is essential to its very life. For without the freedom to inquire, to challenge and to doubt, truth cannot be well grounded or error refuted. Since not everything which has been accepted is true, nor everything which is newly proposed is false, the result of inquiry sometimes undermines the customary and supports the novel. When this takes place in non-controversial areas, it is recognized as the natural operation of the discipline of scientific inquiry, when it affects controversial issues, vested interests and emotions are often aroused and attempts are made to safeguard some special doctrine and conclusion from the consequences of critical scrutiny.

Anything may be regarded as a controversial subject, from the heliocentric hypothesis and the theory of evolution to the causes of World War II and the wisdom of the Marshall Plan. That is why universities from the time of their origin have been compelled to fight the battle for academic freedom over and over again. Although in the West, in matters of pure science, there are no longer powerful special interests that can be outraged by the progress of inquiry in the social studies, arts and philosophy, convictions are not so clearly a function of evidence. Conclusions in these fields touch on issues of contemporary political or social concern in relation to which almost everyone believes he is something of an authority. One man's truth is often another man's propaganda.

None the less, no distinction in principle can be drawn between non-controversial and controversial themes, especially if we recognize that all

⁹ Sidney Hook, *Should Communists Be Permitted to Teach?* *The New York Times Magazine* (Feb 27, 1949) pp 7ff. Used by permission of Sidney Hook and *The New York Times*.

human judgments are fallible. The presumption is that university professors engaged in the search for truth are qualified by their professional competence. The judges of their competence can only be their intellectual peers or betters in their own fields. If this is denied, the university loses its *raison d'être* as an institution, not only for free research but critical teaching.

But beyond this, agreement gives way to differing interpretations of the academic freedom principle as it applies to Communists in teaching. The position of those who hold that Communists should not be allowed to teach in American schools and colleges rests essentially upon three contentions. The first of these is that Communists, because they are Communists, are themselves not free, the very act of joining the Communist party constitutes a relinquishment of the right to think and act as an individual. The party member has agreed to subordinate himself, his thoughts and his actions, to the higher authority of the party. The oath of allegiance taken by all members of the Communist party in the United States reads in part "I pledge myself to rally the masses to defend the Soviet Union, the land of victorious socialism. I pledge myself to remain at all times a vigilant and firm defender of the Leninist line of the party, the only line that insures the triumph of Soviet power in the United States."¹⁰ Those who would bar Communists from the schools see in such a party directive a clear denial of any intent to teach as a free, open minded, truth seeking individual. Communists, avowedly and deliberately, are here held to be denying the very essence of academic freedom, thus to retain them as teachers would itself undermine that freedom. Such was the logic of Raymond B. Allen, then President of the University of Washington, as he defended the dismissal of Communists from that institution.¹¹

Academic freedom consists of something more than merely an absence of restraints placed upon the teacher by the institution that employs him. It demands as well an absence of restraints placed upon him by

¹⁰ From the *Daily Worker* (Apr. 2, 1936) as quoted in *Time* (Aug. 9, 1948), p. 39.

¹¹ As quoted in *Time* (Feb. 7, 1949), p. 43. Used by permission of Raymond Allen and *Time*. See also *Communism and Academic Freedom: The record of the tenure cases at the University of Washington* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1949).

his political affiliations, by dogmas that may stand in the way of free search for truth, or by rigid adherence to a party line that sacrifices dignity, honor, and integrity to accomplishment of political ends

In the second place, Communists should be barred from teaching because, as is implicit in the foregoing, they are members of a conspiracy against the people and the government of the United States. Again, a discussion by Sidney Hook aptly summarizes this view. He draws a distinction between a "heresy" and a "conspiracy" ¹²

A heresy is a set of unpopular ideas or opinions on matters of grave concern to the community. The right to profess publicly a heresy of any character, on any theme, is an essential element of a liberal society. The liberal stands ready to defend the honest heretic no matter what his views against any attempt to curb him. . . . A heresy does not shrink from publicity. It welcomes it

A conspiracy, on the other hand,

is a secret or underground movement which seeks to attain its ends not by normal political or educational processes but by playing outside the rules of the game. . . . The signs of a conspiracy are secrecy, anonymity, the use of false names and labels, and the calculated lie. It does not offer its wares openly but by systematic infiltration into all organizations of cultural life, it seeks to capture strategic posts to carry out a policy alien to the purposes of the organization . . .

Communist *ideas* are heresies, and liberals need have no fear of them where they are freely and openly expressed. They should be studied and evaluated in the light of all the relevant evidence. No one should be punished because he holds them. The Communist *movement*, however, is something quite different from a mere heresy, for wherever it exists it operates along the lines laid down by Lenin as guides to Communists of all countries, and perfected in great detail since then.

"It is necessary," so Lenin instructs all Communists, "to agree to any and every sacrifice and even—if need be—resort to all sorts of stratagems, maneuvers, and illegal methods, to evasions and subterfuges . . . in order to carry on Communist work." Further "In all organizations without exception (political, industrial, military, cooperative, edu

¹² Sidney Hook, *Heresy, Yes—Conspiracy, No* (New York, John Day, 1953), pp. 21

²³ Used by permission

cational, sports), groups or nuclei of Communists should be formed . . . mainly open groups but also secret groups"

Teachers are public servants. The public has every right to know the views of its servants and these should be expressed openly and candidly. It is inconsistent to hold that those who would hide their views and conspire secretly to undermine the established institutions and ideas should be both protected and assisted in that objective.

The third point in the position of those who would prohibit Communists from teaching is an answer to those who maintain that such prohibition denies a person freedom of speech. In response to this it is held that the civil liberties do not include the right to teach in an institution. A man has every right to join the Communist or any other party and to express the views of that party, but he does not have a constitutionally guaranteed right to serve in a classroom. He is entitled to consideration as a teacher only so long as he is freely in a position to accept the obligations as well as the privileges of academic freedom. A person dismissed from teaching because of his Communist affiliations does not lose either the right to continue those connections or to voice their views. But he cannot demand freedom to teach as a right.

Some of the arguments of those who hold that Communists should be allowed to teach can be anticipated from the foregoing. Those who see in the ban against Communists a threat to intellectual freedom hold that such a proscription does indeed imperil free speech and the free expression of contrary opinions. The Communist party is still, in most states, a recognized political organization, entitled to representation on the ballot and, if successful, to participation in government. It is a denial of basic democratic principles to single out the members of one such party as disqualified for academic service. Legally, it is argued, there is no more justification for this action than for a policy of denying teaching positions to Republicans, Democrats, or Prohibitionists. So long as the Communist party has full legal status, for so long are its members entitled to all the privileges which accompany that status.

But the argument runs deeper than this. To prohibit Communists

from teaching is a denial of freedom to students. In a democracy intelligence is crucial, any measure which restricts the student's opportunity to expand that intelligence is both inconsistent and perilous. The most effective education is the most complete education, and education from which nothing of significance is arbitrarily excluded. Similarly, the schools themselves—as institutions and as bodies of scholar teachers—cannot afford to be left without contact with the major ideas of the world, no matter how controversial. Diversity of opinion is essential. The removal of teachers who are Communists abridges this quality and deprives teachers and students of the best kind of intellectual stimulus—the stimulus of opposing ideas.

The world is full of dangerous ideas, and we are both naive and stupid if we believe that the way to prepare intelligent young men to face the world is to try to protect them from such ideas while they are in college. Four years in an insulated nursery will produce gullible innocents, not tough minded realists, who know what they believe because they have faced the enemies of their beliefs.¹³

This point of view is underscored and expanded as Alexander Meiklejohn, former president of Amherst College, challenges the contentions of Sidney Hook which we have noted. Arguing that "democracy will win in the competition of ideas," Dr Meiklejohn rejects a policy of excluding Communists from college and university faculties.¹⁴

the primary task of education in our colleges and universities is the teaching of the theory and practice of intellectual freedom as the first principle of the democratic way of life. Whatever else our students may do or fail to do, they must learn what freedom is. They must learn to believe in it, to love it, and most important of all to trust it.

What, then, is this faith in freedom, so far as the conflict of opinions is concerned? Simply stated, that doctrine expresses our confidence that whenever, in the field of ideas, the advocates of freedom and the

¹³ Quoted from Dean Wilbur J. Bender of Harvard University in A. M. Schlesinger, Jr. "The Right to Loathsome Ideas," *Saturday Review of Literature* (May 14, 1949) p. 18. Used by permission.

¹⁴ Alexander Meiklejohn, "Should Communists Be Allowed to Teach?" *The New York Times Magazine* (Mar. 27, 1949) p. 10. Used by permission of Alexander Meiklejohn and *The New York Times*.

advocates of suppression meet in fair and unabridged discussion, freedom will win. If that were not true, if the intellectual program of democracy could not hold its own in fair debate, then that program itself would require of us its own abandonment. That chance we believers in self government have determined to take. We have put our faith in democracy. . . .

For many years the writer of these words has watched the disastrous educational effects upon student opinion and attitude when suppression has been used, openly or secretly, in our universities and colleges. The outcome is always the same. Dictatorship breeds rebellion and dissatisfaction. High spirited youth will not stand the double-dealing which prelates of academic freedom and muzzles its teachers by putting them "on probation."

If we suggest to these young people that they believe in democracy, then they will insist on knowing what can be said against it as well as what can be said for it. If we asked them to get ready to lay down their lives in conflict against an enemy, they want to know not only how strong or how weak are the military forces of that enemy, but also what he has to say for himself and against what we are saying for ourselves.

Many of the students in our colleges and universities are today driven into an irresponsible radicalism. But that drive does not come from the critics of our American political institutions. It comes chiefly from the irresponsible defenders of those institutions—the men who make a mockery of freedom by using in its service the forces of suppression.

Furthermore, contend those who reject the ban, we have established in the United States a principle to govern the usages of our civil liberties. This principle, given lucid interpretation by Justice Holmes, requires that those freedoms can only be restricted or curtailed when their unrestricted operation constitutes a "clear and present danger" to the nation.

The phrase "clear and present danger" has a rather specific meaning. As Justice Holmes once observed, it does not mean clear and present danger of changing the nation's mind by argument. It does not mean a clear and present danger of offending somebody's principles or prejudices. It means a clear and present danger of inciting overt acts in violation of law. Our civil liberties tradition is therefore not a tradition of unlimited vulnerability before all forms of provocation when free speech

leads to overt illegal acts free society may take steps to repress such speech. But the finding of clear and present danger is a delicate decision, to be taken by the courts on the basis of overwhelming evidence. In Brandeis words, If there be time to expose through discussion the falsehoods and fallacies, to avert the evil by the processes of education the remedy to be applied is more speech not enforced silence. Only an emergency can justify repression.

The proceedings in Seattle systematically ignored [this] traditional test by which we judge curtailment of civil freedom. No one at Seattle even pretended that the Communist teachers constituted an emergency. If the existence of three Party line teachers on the University of Washington campus did, indeed create a grave threat to the intellectual chastity of the undergraduates it would be a devastating commentary on the effectiveness of the 700 non Communist members of the faculty, not to mention the strength of the democratic idea itself.¹⁵

There is a corollary question which is also argued and which bears mentioning here. Are one's political activities a danger in the classroom anyway? Is it not conceivable that such activities or commitments might have no bearing at all upon the actual work inside the classroom? The answers here go in three directions. Those who would ban all Communists maintain that it is impossible to separate one's private from his professional life and that of course his attitudes would overflow from one into the other. Those who would leave teaching open to all argue that it does not necessarily follow that political orientation will influence teaching but that even if it does the results are healthy and desirable. Still others would stand halfway and say that it depends upon the field of study. Conceivably, a teacher of mathematics or chemistry might be able to divorce his class work from his outside activities, but not a teacher of history or philosophy or economics.

All this leads to the final argument against the exclusion of Communist teachers. This is the belief that to ban such persons is to decide who shall and who shall not teach on grounds *other than* professional competence. A person may be a very fine teacher of, say, physical education, psychology, or even political science and at the same time

¹⁵ Schlesinger *op cit* pp 17 18

advocates of suppression meet in fair and unabridged discussion, free dom will win. If that were not true, if the intellectual program of democracy could not hold its own in fair debate, then that program itself would require of us its own abandonment. That chance we believers in self government have determined to take. We have put our faith in democracy.

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¹⁵ Schlesinger *op cit* pp 17-18

be a Communist. (To those who support the ban this is in itself an inconsistency.) Should we disregard his professional competence and discharge or refuse to hire him simply because of his views? Furthermore, to invoke such a blanket ruling as is advocated removes the control of teaching personnel, especially at the college level, from the very people who are in a position to judge professional competence best—the teachers. If state legislatures, boards of trustees, or superintendents of schools decree the exclusion of Communists (or any other group) from teaching, this means that those who purport to be experts in their fields—the scholars—are being judged and their fates decided by persons admittedly not expert in those fields. This, it is argued, amounts to academic nonsense. As with the loyalty oath, such a situation would surely contribute to academic insecurity and would deter competent persons from entering the teaching profession.

Two allied questions remain to be considered. What of those who, while not Communists, are associated with Communists, are “fellow travelers,” or members of Communist front organizations? Should the ban extend to them? We are faced here with a condition so nebulous and vague that the more concrete arguments vis-à-vis actual Communists in teaching are difficult, if not impossible to apply. Many would contend, without exception, that suspicion of Communist or “radical” leanings was sufficient grounds for exclusion but this seems clearly to be warping many of the arguments of both sides and to be seriously subverting democratic principles. More surely than on the Communist issue, the educational profession would tend to agree, supporting Robert Hutchins when, as Chancellor of the University of Chicago, he stated

It has sometimes been said that some members of the faculty belong to some so-called “Communist front” organizations. The University of Chicago does not believe in the un-American doctrine of guilt by association. The fact that some Communists belong to, believe in, or even dominate some of the organizations to which some of our professors belong does not show that those professors are engaged in subversive activities. All that such facts would show would be that these professors believed in some of the objects of the organizations.¹⁶

¹⁶ *The New York Times* (May 29, 1951), p. 4

Even if, as many believe, membership in the Communist party is in itself sufficient grounds for exclusion from teaching, affiliation with organizations whose aims happen to coincide with or whose membership includes those of that party is not justification for such action. Here, Hook's concern for the 'honest heretic' and the insistence upon *professional* standards for academic freedom come together.

In this discussion of Communists in teaching, the colleges and universities have held the center of the stage. How do these arguments apply at the lower levels? If the ban is valid for higher education, is it not even more crucial for the elementary and secondary schools? Or, if college teaching be freely open to Communists, does the same hold true for positions in high schools or grammar schools? It would be rash to advance any one view on this question as representing the general sentiments of the educational profession but the basic difference of opinion seems clearly discernible. There are those, on the one hand, who would permit, even urge, the employment of Communists or other antidemocratic individuals as public school teachers. Alexander Meiklejohn seems clearly to have been advocating such a policy for secondary schools, and perhaps for the elementary grades, when he wrote that ¹⁷

... school boards and trustees of colleges and universities have a heavy responsibility. They must see to it that among our teachers there is an adequate supply of Communists. of able, fearless, outspoken advocates of the unpopular view. It must be arranged by the authorities that both sides of fundamental issues shall be represented by teachers who believe in them. Under the actual conditions of democratic life the practical question is not, 'Shall we have any 'Communists' on our faculties?' but rather, 'How can we get enough Communists' to give proper expression of views which run counter to the general trend of habit, emotion, interest, of the community at large?' We must provide for the criticism of our institutions as well as for their advocacy.

On the other hand, categorical rejection of such a policy for the lower schools is vehemently supported. Norman Thomas, honored

¹⁷ Alexander Meiklejohn, *Teachers and Controversial Questions*, *Harpers* (June 1938) pp 15-22. Used by permission.

leader of the American Socialist movement for over a quarter of a century, states this view forcefully. Holding that there might be cases in which men competent in fields unrelated to national security who are open Communists' might strengthen and stimulate university intellectual life, he goes on, nevertheless, to state ¹⁸

I do not, however, extend this faith to the public school level or to teachers in charge of children's unformed minds for five days a week. Today, as a matter of policy, I am not anxious to stir up a crude heresy hunt through legislative or administrative action. More might be lost than gained. Nevertheless, proved Communists have no place on the teaching staffs of our public schools. It is certainly the business of our schools to teach democracy and the virtue of good faith on which democracy depends.

Unless one has no faith at all in the possibility of teaching democracy or ethics, the public school is no more a place for Communist teachers than for Nazis or Ku Klux Klanners. The Bill of Rights may properly guarantee to Communists the right to stay out of jail and enjoy free speech. It does not guarantee them a right to hold offices in which improper conduct might jeopardize the national security or undermine the basic democracy to which our country is dedicated.

* * *

This discussion of academic freedom has emphasized the fact that restrictions on that freedom do exist, that many consider those restrictions essential to the maintenance of genuine democracy. It may be that in such a discussion the essence of the principle of academic freedom becomes obscured. Such is not the intention of this writing. As we noted in the opening lines of the chapter, democracy and the education in and for that democracy cannot long survive the denial of intellectual freedom. It is necessary to consider with great care the advisability of employing avowed Communists as teachers at any level. It would seem equally advisable to question the desirability of allowing the freedom of teaching to be perverted by the 'apostles of hate' who preach against certain races, creeds, or peoples. These and other

¹⁸ Norman Thomas in a letter to *The New York Times Magazine* (Mar. 13, 1949). Used by permission of Norman Thomas and *The New York Times*.

measures which are proposed as safeguards must, however, always be examined in terms of their ultimate effect upon the essential element in a democratic educational system—the free flow of information, accessibility to the avenues to truth

This suggests what might be an appropriate final word True freedom is *responsible* freedom Teachers are responsible to themselves, their students, their profession, and their community They cannot assume that the privilege of academic freedom is primarily a protective device, screening them from the contaminations or the interferences of society. They are entitled to the benefits of such freedom for as long as they use those benefits in the interests of truth and humanity, and no longer.

Historically the word "university" is a guarantee of standards It implies endorsement not of its members' views but of their capability and integrity Every scholar has an obligation to maintain their reputation . . . His effectiveness, both as scholar and teacher, is not reduced but enhanced if he has the humility and the wisdom to recognize the fallibility of his own judgment Others, both within and without the university, are as free to criticize his opinions as he is free to express them, "academic freedom" does not include freedom from criticism

As in all acts of association, the professor accepts conventions which become morally binding Above all, he owes his colleagues complete candor and perfect integrity, precluding any kind of clandestine or conspiratorial activities He owes equal candor to the public If he is called upon to answer for his convictions, it is his duty as a citizen to speak out It is even more definitely his duty as a professor [and, we would say, as teacher, at any level] Refusal to do so, on whatever legal grounds, cannot fail to reflect upon a profession that claims for itself the fullest freedom to speak and the maximum protection of that freedom available in our society ¹⁹

By the same token, academic freedom places clear responsibilities upon the nonteaching public It is not enough simply to offer freedom to scholars whose views or whose findings are in conformity with the prevailing mores or the established traditions That freedom must extend to those who advocate ideas which question, challenge, or even

¹⁹ From the official statement of the Association of American Universities on "Rights and Responsibilities of Universities and Their Faculties" 1953

oppose the traditional institutions. To establish a public school system, found a great university, or endow a college and then to say to that institution that it is at liberty to teach only what is agreeable to some particular outlook is to make a mockery of intellectual freedom. Society, no less than the teaching profession, has a vital stake in academic freedom and a correspondingly critical obligation to support and promote it.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

BASIC QUESTION If genuinely democratic education requires that all sides of an issue be presented and studied, can we consistently refuse to hear or examine the unpopular, perhaps antidemocratic position? Are we not obligated in our schools and colleges to provide for the freedom hater as well as the freedom lover?

- 1 Is it a denial of academic freedom for a school board or a board of trustees to dismiss someone with whose educational, political, or religious philosophy they disagree? Does a person have a *right* to a teaching position?
- 2 How would you react to the contention that academic freedom should extend to the teacher who is
 - a Strongly antisemitic?
 - b An extreme religious fundamentalist?
 - c A staunch advocate of white supremacy?
 - d A conscientious objector?
- 3 At what point do you find it defensible to restrict an individual's academic freedom
 - a. Only after overt acts or statements which you consider undemocratic are made *in the course of actual teaching*?
 - b Upon receipt of conclusive evidence of *nonprofessional* activities you deem to be undemocratic?
 - c. Upon receipt of conclusive evidence of a history of nondemocratic behavior *prior to employment with you*?
 - d Because of deep, irreconcilable *philosophical differences* between the two of you? **†**
- 4 To what extent is the practical application of academic freedom governed by the necessity or desirability of shielding or protecting young people from some unpleasant facts of life? In how far do you feel that

References

- teachers should be restricted in the interest of the mental health and stability of children? Can you cite some specific examples?
5. Sidney Hook draws a distinction between "heresy" and "conspiracy" and maintains that the heretic must be free and protected in his free dom, but that the conspirator is a menace and therefore cannot be trusted with freedom. Is this a useful distinction for educators? Why or why not?

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Conclusion

This book has been conceived as serving two groups of college students: those who expect to teach and those who do not. Regardless of professional interest, however, it has been our hope to establish and justify three major convictions regarding the place of education in contemporary American life. We have maintained, first, that education is a fundamental, central element in a democratic society, that the welfare of that society and of its schools are interdependent and inseparable. It follows, therefore, that the responsibility of democratic citizenship for the maintenance and support of education is crucial. Second, we have been concerned to demonstrate that the health and effectiveness of American education is of unprecedented significance for the entire world. Finally, this book has attempted to present education as a career opportunity which is among the most challenging, exciting, and rewarding fields that a democratic society can offer to its citizenry. Dwight D. Eisenhower succinctly underscored this fact when, as President of Columbia University, he wrote the alumni of that institution a report on his activities. Speaking of a visit to Teachers College, he said 'I believe that the teacher is about the most important person in American society. He ought to be generously paid, and there ought to be many more of him.'

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to the position of federal "hands off" or "states' rights" in education. Second, one cannot fail to note the relatively weak, often meaningless expressions which both major parties so frequently offer as bases for an educational policy. At the same time, here is evidence that education is being taken more seriously, for concrete proposals and more definite commitments are clearly characteristic of some of the later pronouncements. In the review of the platforms which follows, it should be noted that no mention of any educational policy appeared in the Republican platforms for 1900, 1904, 1912, 1932, 1936, and 1940; Democratic platforms failed to notice education in the platforms of 1900, 1904, 1916, and 1932.

REPUBLICAN

1908

The Farmer

. . . we commend the growing practice of state aid [to agriculture] and we approve the efforts of the National Agricultural Department by experiment and otherwise to make clear to the public the best methods of road construction.

(No mention of education)

DEMOCRATIC

Agriculture and Mechanical Education

The Democratic party favors the extension of agricultural, mechanical, and industrial education. We therefore favor the establishment of district agricultural experiment stations and secondary agricultural and mechanical colleges in the several states.

1912

We recognize the value of vocational education, and urge Federal appropriations for such training and extension teaching in agriculture in cooperation with the several states.

1916

Labor Laws

(No mention of education)

We pledge the Republican party to the faithful enforcement of all Federal laws passed for the protection of labor. We favor vocational education. . .

REPUBLICAN

1920

DEMOCRATIC

Education and Health

Education

We indorse the principle of Federal aid to the states for the purpose of vocational and agricultural training Wherever Federal money is devoted to education, such education must be so directed as to awaken in the youth the spirit of America and a sense of patriotic duty to the United States

A thorough system of physical education for all children up to the age of 19, including adequate health supervision and instruction would remedy conditions revealed by the draft and would add to the economic and industrial strength of the nation National leadership and stimulation will be necessary to induce the State to adopt a wise system of physical training .

Pointing to its history and relying upon its fundamental principles, we declare that the Republican Party has the genius, courage, and constructive ability . . . to raise the national standards of education

1924

We favor a broader and better system of vocational education. .

We favor the adoption of methods which will provide for the education of the alien in our language, customs, ideals, and standards of life .

(Also proposed the combination of all agencies concerned with hu-

Cooperative Federal assistance to the States is immediately required for the removal of illiteracy, for the increase of teachers salaries, and instruction in citizenship for both native and foreign born, increased appropriation for vocational training in home economics

(Also mentioned the Smith Lever Act, the child labor law, and a recommendation that "appropriations for education in sex hygiene" be continued)

We pledge the party to co operate with the state governments for the welfare, education, and protection of child life. . . .

We believe with Thomas Jefferson and other founders of the republic that ignorance is the enemy of freedom, and that each state, being responsible for the intellectual

REPUBLICAN

man welfare into "A cabinet post of education and relief.")

DEMOCRATIC

and moral qualifications of its citizens and for the expenditure of the moneys collected by taxation for the support of its schools, shall use its sovereign right in all matters pertaining to education

The federal government should offer to the states such counsel, advice, and aid as may be made available through the federal agencies for the general improvement of our schools in view of our national needs.

1928

The Federal Government . . . should be zealous to *respect and maintain the rights of the states* and to uphold the vigor of our dual system of Government. . . . *The effort which, however, is being continually made to have the Federal Government move into the field of State activity has never had and never will have the support of the Republican party.*

We demand that the constitutional rights and powers of the states shall be preserved in their full vigor and virtue. . . . We demand a revival of the spirit of local self government without which free institutions cannot be preserved.

(This is followed by a reaffirmation of the excerpt quoted from the 1924 platform.)

1936

(No mention of education)

We have aided youth to stay in school. . . .

1940

(No mention of education)

Today, when the youth of other lands is being sacrificed in war, this Nation recognizes the full value of the sound youth program established by the Administration. The National Youth Administration and